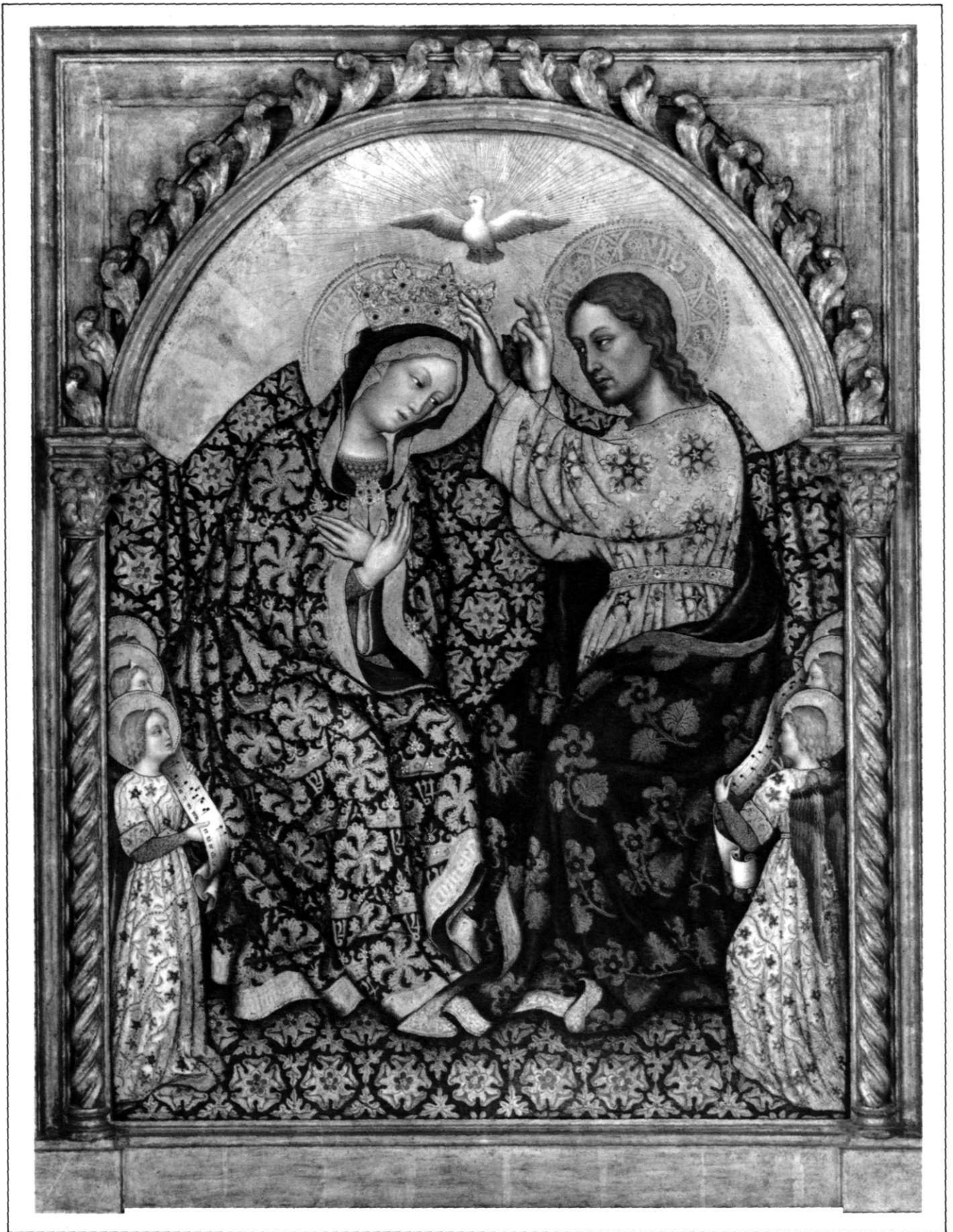




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The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal

Volume 6-7 / 1978-1979

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Editorial statement:

The J. Paul Getty Museum was founded twenty-five years ago and moved to its new building in 1974. As the museum grows, an active program of research and publication has been encouraged. To this end our founder J. Paul Getty authorized the publication of the first two volumes of the J. Paul Getty Museum *Journal* five years ago.

The *Journal* is now published annually and will contain articles and shorter notes on all the collections in the museum: Renaissance through nineteenth century painting, late seventeenth and eighteenth century French decorative arts and sculpture, and Greek and Roman antiquities. Conservation problems will also be discussed. Written by members of the staff and by other scholars, the *Journal* is one part of our program to publish continuing research on the collections and their relationship with the world's art treasures.

The Editors

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Contents

PAINTINGS

- The *Coronation of the Virgin* by Gentile da Fabriano 1
K. Christiansen

- A New Portrait by Anthonis Mor 13
B. B. Fredericksen

- A Note on the Afterlife of the *Crouching Aphrodite*
in the Renaissance 23
S. Holo

DECORATIVE ARTS

- Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative
Arts 1977-mid-1979 37
G. Wilson

- A Newly Discovered Piece of Royal Sèvres Porcelain 53
B. L. Shifman

- Monsieur Galle, Bronzier et Doreur 57
M. Shapiro

ANTIQUITIES

SCULPTURE:

- Le sculpteur des Danseuses 75
J. Frel

- Hypotheses on the History of the *Crouching Aphrodite*
Type in Antiquity 83
D. M. Brinkerhoff

- Ideal "Portraiture" at the Outset of the Hellenistic Age 97
C. C. Vermeule

- Ein Sarkophagfragment mit dem Kampf bei den
Schiffen in Malibu 103
G. Koch

- Two sculptures from the Haurân in the
J. Paul Getty Museum 111
S. Downey

Drei Kleinbronzen im J. Paul Getty Museum	123
<i>I. Kilian-Dirlmeier</i>	
VASES:	
Two Omphalos Phialai	131
<i>C. Cardon</i>	
Huckepack	139
<i>F. Brommer</i>	
An Etruscan Red-Figured Vase with Charon	147
<i>M. A. Del Chiaro</i>	
NUMISMATICS:	
A Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins in the J. Paul Getty Museum	153
<i>P. Visonà</i>	
Coins from Two Republican Hoards	163
<i>J. Cody</i>	
OTHER ANTIQUITIES:	
A New Roman Military Diploma	173
<i>R. Mellor</i>	
A Painted Triptych from Roman Egypt	185
<i>D. L. Thompson</i>	
NOTES:	
Kore in Malibu	
<i>E. Langlotz</i>	193
Die Tierkampfgruppe auf dem Karneol-Skarabäus im Getty Museum	196
<i>P. Zazoff</i>	
An Alabaster Scent Bottle in the J. Paul Getty Museum	199
<i>S. Knudsen Morgan</i>	
Some Apulian Knob-handled Paterae	203
<i>M. Jentoft-Nilsen</i>	
A Terracotta Thymiaterion in Malibu	209
<i>A. Manzoni</i>	

The Coronation of the Virgin by Gentile da Fabriano

Keith Christiansen

The purchase of the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Gentile da Fabriano has brought the Getty Museum one of the few remaining privately owned paintings by a major fifteenth century Italian artist.¹ It shows the Virgin and Christ seated at opposing angles on a brocade covered throne, the sides of which define a shallow space in front of the gold background (Figs. 1–3). Six angels, disposed three to either side, mark off the foreground and hold scrolls inscribed with musical notations and the words from the fifth chapter of the book of Revelations: *Timete dominum et date illi hono[rem] / Dignus est agnus qui o[ccisus est]*. Cleaning in 1977 has revealed the painting to be in good condition. The most serious losses are in the glazes which once modelled the brocade behind the figures and the sleeve of Christ's garment. The raised, gilt ornament, known as *pastiglia*, is largely modern, though already present in a water-color reproduction of the painting made in the 1830's.² Though the panel has been thinned, cradled, and cut down, the picture surface has not been cropped, and the outlines of the enframing capitals are still visible below the springing of the arch.

Until 1835, when the Reverend John Sanford bought the painting in Florence, it was in Gentile's hometown of Fabriano, about ninety kilometers northeast of Perugia. There, in 1827, the local artist Vincenzo Liberati described it as follows:

Two easel paintings [by Gentile] exist in this our

venerable seminary, one showing the Coronation of the Virgin and the other Saint Francis receiving the stigmata; they are on a gold ground and of excellent facture; they were ceded as a gift by the Franciscans to the Filippini, and now, these being suppressed, are in the possession of the seminary.³

Another hand cryptically added in the margin: "quindi venduti"—since sold.

The *Stigmatization of St. Francis* has long been identified with the beautiful painting now in the Carminati collection in Milan (Fig. 4), but which remained until about 1923 in the Fornari collection in Fabriano, where it was seen by Sir Charles Eastlake in 1858.⁴ It shows St. Francis kneeling before a grove of small oak trees, above which the peak of Mount La Verna rises. Across a narrow ravine stands a small, Romanesque chapel, in front of which is portrayed brother Leo shielding his eyes against the brilliant seraphic appearance of Christ. The scene is remarkably close to the description of the event found in the fourteenth century *Fioretti*. The painting is in excellent condition; its panel has been thinned, cradled, and cut in almost identical fashion to the *Coronation*. The two paintings have equal dimensions and the traces of the enframing capitals on the *St. Francis* exactly match those on the *Coronation*, suggesting that the two are a pair.

This hypothesis is supported not only by the prove-

1. The provenance is given in the First appendix. The second appendix is a technical report on the condition of the painting by David Bull, painting conservator at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

2. B. Nicolson, "The Sanford Collection," *Burlington*, XCVII, 1955, p. 210, discusses the water-color copies of paintings purchased by John Sanford. A photograph of the one after the Getty painting is on file in the German Institute in Florence.

3. "Due quadri da cavalletto esistono presso questo nostro V.

Seminario, raffiguranti l'uno la Coronazione di M.V. e l'altro S. Francesco che riceve le stimate; questi sono in fondo d'oro d'un lavoro eccellente; tali quadri furono ceduti in dono dai PP. Francescani ai Filippini, ed ora, soppressi questi, sono passati in dominio de V. Seminario." See B. Molajoli, *Gentile da Fabriano*, Tip. Gentile, Fabriano, 1927, p. 112, note 2.

4. See appendix I.



Figure 1. Gentile da Fabriano, *Coronation of the Virgin*. Malibu.



Figure 2. Detail of Malibu *Coronation*.

nance of the two paintings but also by the references to a copy of both compositions made by several authors well into the nineteenth century. Once again Liberati, who attributed these copies—probably correctly—to the local fifteenth century artist Antonio da Fabriano, is the earliest source. More interesting is the fact, noted by Cavalcaselle, that on the chapel depicted in the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* was the inscription AÑO DÑI 1452 DIE 25 DE MARTIO—twenty-five years after Gentile's death, and that when seen by Passavant in 1835, the two paintings formed a double-sided processional standard. The copies are last mentioned in Fabriano in 1873. The *St. Francis* may be traced until 1892, and the *Coronation* is almost certainly to be identified with that given by Prince Johann von Liechtenstein to the Gemälde Galerie in Vienna in 1882 (Fig. 5).

An idea of the paintings' original appearance is provided by a processional standard in the Galleria Nazionale at Perugia, also by a Fabrianese artist, showing on one side the Madonna and Child, and on the other the Annunciation. The Getty and Carminati paintings must have formed a similar standard: a rectangular damage at the base of each panel would thus be the result of a common mount by which they could be carried on a pole. The figure of God the Father, conspicuously missing from the *Coronation*, probably appeared in the tympanum above. The fact that both paintings formed a single ensemble casts strong doubt on the current notion



Figure 3. Detail of Malibu *Coronation*.



Figure 4. Gentile da Fabriano, *Stigmatization of St. Francis*. Milan, Carminati collection.

that they date from two, long-separated phases in Gentile's career and underlines the confusion that still mars an understanding of his development.⁵

The two touchstones of Gentile's career are the altarpieces of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Brera in Milan (Fig. 8) and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi in Florence (Fig. 9). The first is generally dated about 1400.⁶ However, since it was evidently painted for the high altar of Santa Maria di Valdisasso near Fabriano, where Flavio Biondo saw it towards the middle of the century, it cannot have been begun before 1406, when the ruined buildings were purchased by Chiavello Chiavelli for the Observant Franciscans.⁷ It had probably been commissioned by 1412, when Chiavello died, and was finished before 1414, when Gentile moved to Brescia where he was continuously active until September 1419. The *Adoration of the Magi* was painted for the sacristy of Santa Trinità in Florence. It is dated 1423, but was probably underway by November, 1422, when Gentile is listed in the painters' guild in Florence as living in the quarter of S. Trinità.

In the Brera *Coronation of the Virgin*, isolated passages of carefully observed flora enliven an essentially abstract and decorative image, the underlying constructional principle of which is an involuted curve repeated in each of the several panels. The entire repertory of the medieval craftsman's technique is used to create an incomparably varied surface, as in the tongues of flames emanating from the Christ and the Virgin. The effect is both rich and languid. The surface of the *Adoration of the Magi* is still richly embellished, especially in the costumes of the kings and the trappings of the horses, but the

emphasis has shifted. The figures are more acutely rendered and stand more solidly. The stylized hills or small enclosed gardens in the pinnacle scenes of the earlier altarpiece have been transformed into full-blown landscapes with distant vistas of incredible variety, and, in the predella scenes, atmospheric skies. A new and far-reaching naturalism has re-shaped the pictorial content. The Getty-Carminati standard clearly associates itself with this later phase. By comparison to the Brera *Coronation*, the figures are modelled with greater strength, their faces less generalized, and the drapery falls in heavier folds that relate more functionally to the underlying forms. In place of the heavenly splendor of tooled rays in the central panel of the polyptych is found the regal setting of an earthly throne, and in contrast to the schematic landscape of the pinnacles, there is the carefully described peak of Mount La Verna enlivened by a light emanating from the seraphic figure of Christ. A consequence of that light are what are probably the first consistently projected cast shadows in Italian painting since the Lorenzetti brothers.

The figures in the main scene of the *Adoration* offer the closest parallels to those in the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, while the Moses and David, who recline on the central arch in the tympanum, and the blessing Christ in the rondel have much in common with the more hieratically conceived and richly garbed figures of the *Coronation*. This close relationship with the *Adoration of the Magi* allows a relatively secure dating for the standard: certainly it cannot post-date the *Adoration*, for in subsequent paintings like the small altarpiece in the Frick collection, New York, or the panels of the Quaratesi

5. All of Gentile's paintings with a provenance from Fabriano—with the exception of the Getty *Coronation*—have traditionally been dated early in his career, but even a superficial glance at these works—the *Madonna and Child with Saints* in Berlin-Dahlem, the altarpiece in the Brera, and the Carminati *St. Francis*—shows this idea to be untenable. E. Micheletti, *l'Opera completa di Gentile da Fabriano*, Rizzoli, Milan, 1976, cat. nos. 1, 2–11, 12, & 22 gives the most recent summary. R. Longhi, "Me pinxit: un San Michele Arcangelo di Gentile da Fabriano," *Pinacotheca*, I, 1928, pp. 71 ff., first suggested that the Getty painting was the center panel of a polyptych with a Saint Michael, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as a flanking element. Micheletti, *op. cit.*, cat. nos. 22–25, has revived this argument, but without foundation. The St. Michael measures 99.6 x 37.4 cm. against the 87.5 x 64 cm. of the *Coronation*, its format is different, and it is not by Gentile. Equally unfounded is the notion of L. Grassi, *Tutta la pittura di Gentile da Fabriano*, Rizzoli, Milan, 1953, p. 60, that the picture surface of the Getty *Coronation* has been cropped and originally included God the Father directly above the dove.

6. See E. Micheletti, *op. cit.*, cat. nos. 2–11.

7. The painting is mentioned in the *Italia illustrata libri VIII*, Regio quinta Picenum sive Machia Anconitana incipit, by F. Biondo. For the history of S. Maria di Valdisasso see O. Marcoaldi, *Guida e statistica della città e comune di Fabriano*, G. Crocetti, Fabriano, 1873, pp. 169–70; R. Sassi, *Le chiese di Fabriano*, Arti Grafiche "Gentile," Fabriano, 1961, pp. 56–7 and 160–1; and "Monasteri Camaldolesi di Fabriano," *Rivista Camaldolese*, II, nos. 1 & 2, p. 5; and L. Wadding, *Annales minorum*, Rome, IX, 1734, p. 276. Earlier authors like Molajoli and L. Grassi state that the altarpiece was probably brought to S. Maria di Valdisasso from another church. However, this is highly unlikely, since the iconography of the altarpiece lays special emphasis on famous early Christian hermits and the two founders of the mendicant orders, making it peculiarly suitable to the new Observant monastery. In view of the paucity of dated, comparative visual material, it seems inadvisable to dismiss such important circumstantial evidence so lightly.



Figure 5. Antonio da Fabriano, *Coronation of the Virgin*, copy after Gentile. Vienna, Gemälde Galerie.

altarpiece, once signed and dated 1425, Gentile shows a greater mastery of sculptural form and a preference for paler colors combined with oil glazes of deep wines and olive greens.⁸ Given its provenance from a Franciscan church in Fabriano, there is, in fact, every reason to believe that the standard was commissioned in March or April 1420, when Gentile made a request to Tommaso Chiavelli, lord of Fabriano, for exemption from taxes, "that he might live and die and practice his trade in Fabriano."⁹ Significantly, the request was granted. When the devotion of Tommaso's father, Chiavello, to the Franciscans is recalled—not only did he purchase S. Maria di Valdisasso for the Observants, he was also buried within its walls—one is even tempted to conjecture that Tommaso was the patron.

If the Getty-Carminati standard was the result of a commission in a provincial center of central Italy, its iconography none the less links it with Tuscan art. Only in Tuscany, and above all in Florence, is there a tradition for depicting Christ simultaneously crowning and blessing the Virgin. The earliest extant example of this rare iconography occurs in a late thirteenth century mosaic on the inside façade of the cathedral of Florence, where music-making angels already appear at the sides. It was apparently revived at precisely the moment Gentile painted the processional standard. In a purse made for the Medicis' friend, the anti-Pope John XXIII, a reversal of the cartoon has resulted in Christ blessing with his left hand, but the basic elements of the scene are unchanged. The significance of this depiction remains problematic, but its singularity leaves little doubt that Gentile must have been familiar with these or similar examples.¹⁰ In

8. The Quaratesi altarpiece is now divided between the Uffizi, the Royal Collection, Windsor, the Vatican, and the National Gallery, Washington.

9. The documents are transcribed by A. Zonghi, "Gentile a Fabriano nel 1420," *Le Marche*, VII, 1908, pp. 137–8, and are analyzed by A. Colasanti, *Gentile da Fabriano*, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo, 1909, p. 12.

10. Another example occurs in an unpublished fresco at Paganico (my thanks to Gaudenz Freuler for calling this to my attention), while Botticelli's *Coronation* in the Uffizi takes up the iconography late in the century. God blesses and crowns a kneeling Virgin in Filippo Lippi's fresco in the cathedral at Spoleto, making a variant used also by Niccolò da Foligno in his altarpiece at S. Niccolò, Foligno. In a French miniature reproduced by M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, the Late Fourteenth Century*, Phaidon, London, 1967, pl. 40, the seated Virgin is crowned by God the Father, who blesses with a hand placed below his other arm. This non-Tuscan example underlines, by



Figure 6. Detail of Vienna Coronation.

Figure 7. Detail of Vienna Coronation.



Figure 8. Gentile da Fabriano, *Coronation of the Virgin*. Milan, Brera.

its differences, the relation of Gentile's to the Florentine type. Interestingly, in Antonio Veneziano's *Coronation* in the Hurd collection, New York, the gesture is one of "incipient blessing."

11. The best reproductions are in L. Berti, *Masaccio*, Penn. State Univ. Press, University Park, 1967.

12. On September 18, 1419 Gentile requested a letter of safe conduct for eight people, to go into effect September 22 and last at least fifteen days, in order to join the Pope. The letter is reproduced and trans-

light of this, it is not surprising that the style of the Getty *Coronation* also seems indebted to earlier Florentine painting. An image very like Jacopo di Cione's *Coronation of the Virgin* in the National Gallery in London (no. 569) seems to have served as a model both for the general placement of the figures and their presentation in front of a brocade cloth of honor.

When we ask ourselves why Gentile should have been interested in an image some fifty years old while Lorenzo Monaco's more fashionable and recent *Coronation of the Virgin* now in the Uffizi apparently passed unnoticed, the answer must be that only in the Cione could Gentile find solidly constructed figures combined with a wealth of surface ornamentation. Few facts are more significant than this repudiation of the hard, swinging forms of Florentine International Gothic, but Gentile shared this choice with the young Masaccio, whose earliest altarpiece from S. Giovenale in Cascia, dated 1422, is strictly Cionese in the rigid presentation of its figures modelled in carefully defined planes.¹¹ However, comparison of the Getty *Coronation* with Masaccio's altarpiece underlines the greater subtlety of Gentile's painting and confirms what can also be deduced from the succession of outstanding commissions that fell to him in Florence: prior to about 1424 he was the predominant painter in Italy.

The Florentine elements in the Getty painting constitute the surest proof that Gentile had taken up residence in Florence before 1422. Indeed, when Gentile left Brescia in late September 1419, it was to join Pope Martin V, who was then residing in Florence.¹² It thus seems quite possible that Gentile stopped in the city before journeying to Fabriano the following year. This hypothetical stop-over would perhaps most readily explain the Florentine traits of the *Coronation*. It would also explain why several Florentine paintings completed about the same time as the *Adoration of the Magi* already evidence a familiarity with works by Gentile that would otherwise be difficult to account for. In his *Annunciation* in S. Trinità, Lorenzo Monaco, who is documented only to

scribed in E. Micheletti, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–84.

13. As might be expected, Gentile alone executed the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, while parts of the *Coronation* were entrusted to an assistant. Compare, for example, the dove in the Getty painting with that in the Brera *Coronation* or the birds in the *Adoration of the Magi*. However, Gentile alone was responsible for the hands of Christ and the heads of the two principal figures.



Figure 9. Gentile da Fabriano, *Adoration of the Magi*. Florence, Uffizi.

1423, has interpreted the scene more rationally and naturalistically than in any of his earlier works. And in the *Madonna and Child* at Bremen, dated 1423, Masolino makes his debut as a direct follower of Gentile: the touching intimacy of the figures, their soft chiaroscuro modelling, and such details as the ringlets of the Child's hair allude to a painting very like Gentile's *Madonna and Child* in the National Gallery in Washington, which seems to pre-date the Getty *Coronation* and may be Gentile's earliest Florentine commission.

Both for its aesthetic qualities and the probable circumstances surrounding its conception, the Getty *Coronation of the Virgin* lends new understanding to Gentile's enigmatic career. It also underlines, by comparison, the precocity of the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, for whatever

the beauties of the *Coronation*, the *St. Francis* is the more revolutionary work.¹³ In the profound naturalism which infuses the details of the landscape and informs the system of lighting; in the almost archeological objectivity by which Gentile has created a Romanesque chapel ornamented on the exterior with a Dugento mosaic of the Annunciation and on the interior with a Dugento altarpiece, a challenge was made to a whole generation of younger artists. Only one, Masaccio, understood the full implications of this new kind of image that based itself on a study of nature. In turn he so out-distanced Gentile that for five hundred years the latter has been remembered, if at all, as the most beautiful flower of Italian Gothic painting.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York

APPENDIX 1: THE PROVENANCE OF THE GETTY CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.

The authorship of the Getty *Coronation* has sometimes been doubted and the picture has been unnecessarily confused with the copy in Vienna because of errors in tracing the respective provenance. For this reason it is necessary to treat both paintings as well as their companion images of *St. Francis*.

The first notice of the Getty painting and its companion is by V. Liberati in 1827 (see text and note 3), who states that they passed from S. Francesco to the Filippans and thence to the seminary at Fabriano (S. Francesco was renewed 1781–1788; destroyed 1864. The Congregation of the Fathers of the Oratory of St. Filippo Neri was instituted in Fabriano in 1628. In 1632 they were ceded the oratory of the *Fraternità dei Disciplinati*, later the *Compagnia dei Ss. Giuseppe e Francesco*. See Molajoli, *Guida artistica di Fabriano*, Rotary Club, 1968, pp. 52, 142). Liberati also noted a copy of both paintings in the Casa Buffera, Fabriano, attributed to Antonio da Fabriano (Molajoli, p. 188, n. 4; R. Sassi, "Arte e storia fra le rovine d'un antico tempio francescano," *Rassegna Marchigiana*, V, 1927, p. 346). J. Passavant saw these at the Buffera house in 1835 and described them as forming a double-sided processional standard (*Raphael d'Urbino et son père Giovanni Santi*, Paris, 1860, I, p. 389). By 1858 front and back had been separated (Eastlake, *Notebook*, p. 203) and they were in the Casa Morichi, Fabriano, where they passed after Buffera's death in 1853 (O. Marcoaldi, *Guida e statistica della città e commune di Fabriano*, G. Crocetti, Fabriano, 1873, p. 239, n. 181). Both Eastlake and Cavalcaselle (*A History of Painting in Italy*, John Murray, London, 1866, III, p. 106) recorded an inscription on the *St. Francis* reading ANO DÑI 1452, DIE 25 DE MARTIO, a period coinciding with Antonio da Fabriano's activity but post-dating Gentile's death by twenty-five years (a fact not known until 1887). Not more than two years after Liberati recorded the traditional attribution to Antonio, Ricci (*Elogio del pittore Gentile da Fabriano*, G. M. Cortesi, Macerata, 1829, p. 18) named Gentile as their author. With the exception of Eastlake, who recorded the attribution to Antonio, this ascription continued through Van Marle (*The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1927, VIII, p. 26). In fact, though O. Marcoaldi (*Sui quadri di pittori fabrianesi raccolti e posseduti dal Sig. Romualdo Fornari*, Tipographia G. Crocetti, Fabriano, 1867—not 1897, as Molajoli and others print it—p. 8 and n. A) knew both the Morichi paintings and Gentile's *St. Francis*, then in the Fornari Collection, Fabriano, he ascribed both versions to Gentile. By 1873 the 1452 version, along with the companion *Coronation*, had passed into the Casa Rotondi, Fabriano (O. Marcoaldi, *Guida e statistica . . .*, pp. 89–90). In 1889 the *St. Francis* was described in the F. Pirri Collection, Rome (*Catalogo degli oggetti d'arte e curiosità del Sig. Filippo Pirri*, Tip. A. Befani, Rome, 1889, p. 92, No. 548) and in 1892 it was offered for sale to the British Museum by

Ernesto Aurelio, Rome; its present location is unknown. What must be the companion *Coronation* was given by Prince Johann von Liechtenstein to the *Gemälde Galerie*, Vienna in 1882 (M. Poch-Kalous, *Katalog de Gemälde Galerie*, Vienna, 1972, p. 12).

Gentile's *Coronation* was purchased in Florence on August 16, 1835 by Rev. John Sanford, evidently from a Sig. Nocchi (*Account book/diary of Rev. Sanford*, Barber Institute, Birmingham). The fact that the catalogue of 1847 claims that the painting had belonged to Sig. R. Buffera (B. Nicolson, "The Sanford Collection," *Burlington*, XCVII, 1955, p. 210) may be attributed to the compiler's confusion with the painting mentioned by Ricci. At Sanford's death in 1855 the painting passed to Lord Methuen at Corsham Court (he had married Sanford's daughter), and thence to his son (G. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, John Murray, London, 1857, p. 397). Sold in 1899 to Ch. Sedelmeyer (Christie's, May 13, 1899, N. 81), it was bought by Henri Heugel, Paris in 1902. In 1976 it was purchased by Agnew's who sold it to the J. P. Getty Museum. Its companion *St. Francis* had, as already noted, passed into the Fornari Collection, Fabriano prior to 1858 (Eastlake, *op. cit.*) but was seen by neither Passavant nor Cavalcaselle. Colasanti ("Un quadro inedito di Gentile da Fabriano," *Bollettino d'Arte*, I, 1907, pp. 19–22) published it along with a third, coarse copy also mentioned by Marcoaldi. By 1923 it was in Rome, though still part of the Fornari Collection (R. Sassi, "La famiglia di Gentile da Fabriano," *Rassegna Marchigiana*, II, 1923, p. 9), and is said to have been owned by a banking firm before purchase by Sig. Carminati (Grassi, p. 56), who also purchased other Fornari paintings.

APPENDIX 2: CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN BY GENTILE DA FABRIANO: TECHNICAL REPORT

David Bull

Tempera and oil on poplar panel.

93 cm. x 64 cm. including false addition to top.

87.5 cm. by 64 cm. original size.

SUPPORT

The panel was originally painted on both sides and measured approximately 6 cm. in thickness. This was split in two in the 19th century to separate the two sides, and each section thinned and then cradled. The panel in this museum now measures 8 mm. It is not known when the addition was made to the top of the panel.

There are two vertical splits: 35 cm. from the original top, 22 cm. from the left edge, and 37 cm. from the bottom, 34.5 cm. from the left edge. A 1 cm. high addition has been made to the bottom edge of the panel, and a rectangular inset has been placed in the exact center of this edge, 3.5 cm. x 7.5 cm., which is presumably where the head of the shaft originally fitted on to the panel when it was used as a processional standard.



Figure 10. Detail of Malibu *Coronation*.

GROUND

Approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ mm. thick gesso, creamy white in color. It is in very sound condition except for the pastiglia on the Virgin's crown and brooch and the belt on Christ's robe which are not original. These pastiglia are restorations of the 19th century, which on examination under the microscope reveal that their gesso was applied on top of original gold and punching. If original, the pastiglia would have been modeled after the panel had been gessoed but prior to gilding.¹

1. *Il Libro dell'Arte* by Cennino Cennini, translated by D. V. Thompson, Jr. as *The Craftsman's Handbook* (New York, 1960; reprint of 1933 edition by Yale University Press), chapter 123. How to model on a panel with gesso sottile, and how to mount precious stones.

After this, take some of that gesso for modeling, if you want to model any ornament or foliage ornament, or to mount any precious stones in any special ornaments in front of God the Father or Our Lady, or any other special embellishments, for they add greatly to the beauty of your work. And there are glass gems of various colors. Arrange them systematically, and have your gesso in a little dish over a pot of hot ashes, and a little dish of hot clear water, for you have to wash the brush out often; and this brush is to be of minever, quite fine, and rather long; taking up some of the warm gesso neatly on the tip of this brush; and briskly set to modeling whatever you please. And if you are modeling any little leaves, draw them in first, as you do the figure. And do not try to model many of them, or too many complicated objects; for the clearer you make your foliage ornaments, the better they respond to the stamping with the rosette, and they can be burnished better with the stone. There

PAINT AND GOLD²

Generally in good condition. There are remarkably few paint losses for a painting of this date. Minor losses occur in the Virgin's face, around the head of Christ, and scattered small losses on the two robes, of which the largest area is in Christ's robe adjacent to the scroll held by the angel. The oxidised and discoloured copper resinate glaze on the green cloth of the throne and floor covering has been removed at some time in the past, revealing the brighter and tonally lighter malachite

are some masters who, after they have modeled what they want, apply one or two coats of the gesso with which they gessoed the ancona, just the gesso sottile, with a soft bristle brush. But if you model lightly, in my opinion you get a finer, stronger, surer result by not putting any on, by the system which I stated earlier—of not putting on several types of gesso temperas.

2. As above. Chapter 140. How you should begin swinging the diadems and do stamping on the gold, and mark out the outlines of the figures. Several rules for cloths of gold and silver.

Item. Lay the drapery in silver; after you have burnished, for that is always understood, design your cloth; lay in the ground or the pattern with vermilion, just tempered with yolk of egg; then lay a coat or two of fine lac in oil over each subject, like a pattern on a ground.

Item. If you want to make a handsome cloth with ultramarine blue, lay your drapery in burnished silver; design your cloth; set out either the grounds or the patterns with this blue, tempering it with size. Then lay some evenly all over the grounds and the patterns; and it will be a velvety cloth.

underpainting. The removal of this discoloured glaze is fairly common, as it is often confused with discoloured varnish and removed during cleaning.

It is also apparent that most of the glazes which indicated the modeling of the upper, gold, part of Christ's robe or tunic have been lost in a previous cleaning. The majority of the glazes seen in this passage are a recent restoration, although there are still some small remains of the original to be seen.

By a close examination of the subtle and refined techniques in one area, it is possible to imagine the dazzling impact of the whole when it was first painted. The area of the throne, Christ's red robe, its lining, and his tunic demonstrate Gentile's considerable skill (Fig. 10). On the throne a light green opaque malachite layer was covered by a dark transparent copper resin-ate green, whilst leaving the patterns in chased and burnished gold leaf with vermillion motifs. This is placed next to the lining of Christ's robe which is also in green, but here the transparent copper resinate is laid directly on a chased and tooled gold leaf

which shines through the green in different degrees according to the thickness of the glaze. The outside of the robe has tin or silver leaf used as a background to a transparent lac glaze with the flower and leaf decorations in gold leaf with lapis lazuli centers. These three passages, all using subtle variations of technique, are brilliantly balanced against the burnished gold of the tunic which is decorated with chasing and punching together with lapis lazuli and vermillion painted motifs. Finally, the belt on the tunic was constructed originally in pastiglia inset with various gems.

In summary the painting appears to be in very good condition except for the loss of glazes on Christ's tunic and the throne and floor covering. It is probable that much of the explanation for the good state of the painting is due to the fact that it remained as a double sided panel until approximately 150 years ago, with a consequent stability of the panel with a painting on either side.

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A New Portrait by Anthonis Mor

Burton B. Fredericksen

Anthonis Mor has long been recognized as probably the foremost Flemish portraitist of the sixteenth century, and though he has never become a household name like Titian or Holbein, there is little doubt that—in the generation following Mabuse—he stands far above his countrymen in this genre. Those that came closest, such as Adriaen Thomas Key, appear as very ordinary, almost imitative, artists by comparison.

Over the course of the past few decades since the publication of Friedländer's first lists, scholars have added an occasional portrait to Mor's accepted *oeuvre* and various points about his career have also been clarified. There has never been a shortage of dated pictures, and for each year between 1549 until 1568 we often have at least one picture—and sometimes more—that can be utilized to monitor his development. Granted the development is not very great (the portraits in 1549 can hardly be distinguished stylistically from those of twenty years later), but the historical importance of Mor and his significance for court painting throughout Hapsburg Europe make each new document of not inconsiderable interest to art historians.

A recently discovered portrait by Mor (Fig. 1) has been acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum that may throw some light on a period of the artist's activity that has been traditionally obscure.¹ The new painting, which was found on the Geneva art market in 1978, is not signed and was not attributed to the artist when found. The present writer noticed it and identified it as the work of Mor, but it has not been seen by scholars and still wants extensive commentary.

The Getty portrait depicts a military officer in armor with his hand on a helmet which lies on a table. His right hand rests upon the handle of his sword. The sitter's face is both handsome and imposing (Fig. 2). He

has red curly hair and his eye lashes are likewise red. He appears to be a man in his thirties, though he might well be younger. He wears a short reddish beard and has rather thick lips. His pose—which is the appropriate word—places him in a three-quarter position, staring at the viewer. Light from a window reflects off his armor, all of which is shown in very good detail. The background is a plain gray.

The only bit of internal evidence on the painting, either front or back, that helps to identify its origins is the date 1558 written in the upper left corner of the canvas (Fig. 3). This date is a memorable one in the history of the Holy Roman Empire. It is the year of the death of Charles V—who had abdicated two years earlier—and also the death of Mary Tudor of England, wife of Philip II, who was succeeded by Elizabeth I. It is also the year of Mor's *Self Portrait* in the Uffizi (Fig. 4), which the artist must have painted during a period of relative calm while at home in the Netherlands.

Documents do not tell us exactly what Mor's movements were during the year 1558. Most of his life had been spent travelling from one part of the empire to another—Antwerp, Augsburg, Rome, Madrid. In 1554 he is known to have been in England, having painted there the portrait of the newly-wed Mary Tudor (Madrid, Prado) and probably also a companion portrait of her bridegroom, Philip II of Spain. In August 1555 Philip left England to go to Brussels to prepare for the abdication of his father, and it is presumed that Mor was travelling with him, or at least with his entourage. Sometime in the second half of 1555 he must have painted a portrait of William the Silent of Orange, who had also come to Brussels for the occasion. The portrait itself is lost, but a copy in Kassel carries the date 1555, and the absence of the golden fleece—awarded to William in January, 1556—

1. Acc. no. 78.PA.260. Dimensions 111 x 80 cm. (43¾ x 31½ in.).



Figure 1. A. Mor. Portrait of a man in armor. Malibu.

confirms that it was painted late in 1555.² A portrait of William's wife, Anna van Buren, was probably made at the same time.³

In January, 1556, Mor must have been present in Brussels at the final abdication ceremonies of Charles V, as were most of the dignitaries of the Hapsburg court in the Low Countries. But after this time there are fewer clues to his activities. Only one painting is known from 1556, a *Resurrection with Sts. Peter and Paul* in Chantilly.⁴ It is not known in which city Mor may have painted this work, but it may have been in his native Utrecht.⁵ It belonged, in 1570, to Gérard de Groesbeeck, prince and bishop of Liège, from 1564–1580, but its commission must have been connected in some way with Mor's friend, the humanist Dominique Lampson (1532–1599).⁶ Lampson had been a private secretary to the Cardinal Reginald Pole, the archbishop of Canterbury, between 1554 and 1558, and it is likely that he met Mor in England in 1554 or 1555. Lampson went to Liège in 1557, serving under a series of bishops there until his death, and it was as secretary to Groesbeeck that he described and praised Mor's painting in a very elaborate manner, bringing it also to the attention of Giulio Clovio in his correspondence with the Italian. Because Lampson was still in England in 1556 when Mor painted the *Resurrection*, he was probably not the person who commissioned it, but his close relation to Mor, as evidenced in numerous ways later in the decade, implies he was involved in the commission in some way.

Lampson, in his letter to Clovio, refers to Mor as "Anthonis Mor of Utrecht, painter to his Catholic majesty."⁷ Mor's signature on the *Resurrection*, now lost, also read: ANT. MORUS. PHIL. HISP. REGIS. PICTOR, or Anthonis Mor, painter to Philip, King of Spain. This was the form of signature he used not only during this period but also for the next two decades on occasion, and it emphasizes the close connection between the

twenty-nine year old emperor and the thirty-seven year old Mor. We also have a report that the emperor asked to be godfather for Mor's son who was born in Brussels in 1557.⁸ There is moreover a letter from Philip that shows that he intervened on behalf of another son, also named Philip, who was a student in Louvain. This occurred in July, 1558.⁹

Early in 1557 Mor painted the full-length portrait of Alessandro Farnese, the son of Margaret of Parma (who was from 1559 onwards also the regent of the Netherlands) and the grandson of Charles V, therefore the nephew of Philip II. The portrait, now in Parma, is dated 1557; the sitter was twelve years old at the time and travelling with his mother. Mor must have painted his portrait at the court in Brussels.

Also done during this year, if we are to believe the Spanish inventories, was a portrait of the emperor himself, posed with a baton and seen full length, very much like the portrait of his nephew, Alessandro Farnese. This painting, which is undated, is the best likeness we have of Mor's great patron by Mor himself. Its date can be deduced from an inventory of the Escorial made in 1575 which states: "Es retrato de la manera que andava quando la guerra de Sant Quintin."¹⁰ Since the battle of St. Quentin occurred in August, 1557, it is thought the portrait was done about that time, but it is entirely possible that it was done somewhat later. Again, we would expect it to have been done in Brussels, where Philip was normally in residence when in the north.

Both Philip and his painter remained in the Lowlands throughout 1558. There is only one record of Mor's whereabouts during this year: in October he transferred some property in Utrecht to a certain Paul van Escheren about whom nothing is known.¹¹ His presence in Utrecht is again recorded in July, 1559, when he attended a gathering at the Oud-Munster in Utrecht.¹² These two facts form the basis for believing that Mor normally lived in

2. The portrait in Kassel was demonstrated to be a copy by A. Staring in *Oud-Holland*, 66, 1951, pp. 68–75.

3. See R. van Luttervelt in *Oud-Holland*, 74, 1959, pp. 183–190.

4. See K. Langedijk in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 68, Oct. 1966, pp. 233–238.

5. The only reason for saying so is the letter from Lampson to Giulio Clovio (quoted by Langedijk, *op. cit.*, p. 234) which discusses the painting and describes the artist as the "excellent painter Antonio Moro of Utrecht in Holland." This could refer to his present residence or to his birthplace.

6. For a discussion of Lampson and Mor, see J. Puraye in *Oud-*

Holland, 64, 1949, pp. 175–183.

7. Quoted by K. Langedijk in *op. cit.*, p. 234.

8. According to H. Hymans, *Antonio Moro*, 1910, p. 100, who quotes Dr. S. Muller of Utrecht. So far as I know, this is unsubstantiated.

9. The letter is given in a French translation by Hymans, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

10. See N. Sentenach, *La pintura en Madrid*, 1907, p. 18.

11. C. Kramm, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders*, IV, 1860, p. 1157.

12. C. Kramm, *op. cit.*, p. 1157.



Figure 2. Detail of Fig. 1.

his native city when he was in the Lowlands. But as we have seen, the larger part of his known portraits, at least during this phase of his life, are of members of the court or of the Hapsburg family. These must have been painted in Brussels, certainly not in Utrecht, and so one may assume that Mor was away from home most of the time.

The only portrait known to have been painted by Mor during this period that does not fit the description of a court portrait is the one he painted of himself, now in the Uffizi (Fig. 4). This portrait, one of the artist's most famous, is signed ANT. MORUS PHILIPPI HISP. REG. PICTOR SUA IPSA DEPICTUS MANU 1558. It has generally been assumed to be a work done in Utrecht, in the comfort of his own home. There is, however, no proof of this, and if Mor actually spent most of his time in Brussels, as I think likely, he may have done his own portrait there as well.¹³

The artist sits at his easel with palette in hand, looking—as usual—at the viewer. He sits before a blank panel to which is pinned a piece of paper with a laudatory poem by Lampson in Greek, illustrating again their close ties.¹⁴ But it is not known why Mor painted this portrait, nor for whom; one can only guess why he happened to do it at this point in his career. In any case, until now it was the only painting by Mor that could be said with certainty to have been done during 1558, one of the few years he spent in his homeland. By 1559 he was again off to Spain with Philip ending the five year respite.

Having briefly established the setting for Mor's activity at the time he painted the Getty painting, it is necessary now to attempt to identify the sitter. Since the majority of Mor's dated portraits have already been successfully identified, one may reasonably hold out the hope that

the same will be true of the new portrait. Certainly all of the sitters that we have so far encountered between 1554 and 1558 have been exceptionally prominent, and it is reasonable to say that the presence of Philip in Brussels, as well as the attraction this held for other members of his entourage and family, kept Mor very busy. The emperor was still young; he had been emperor for a mere two or three years, and it is only to be expected that the various members of the entourage were jockeying for position.

The Getty sitter was obviously one of the officers of the armed forces fielded by Philip at the time of the wars with France. This tells us nothing about his national origins, because such officers could have come from many countries. But his armor, in any case, comes from Southern Germany. This conclusion was reached by both Stuart Pyhrr and A. V. B. Norman, who have carefully studied the armor.¹⁵ Rather than paraphrase Mr. Pyhrr's description, it would be better simply to quote it *in extenso*:

The armor worn by this subject appears to be one designed for the "foot tourney," that is, armor for foot combat at the barrier (*Fussturnierharnisch* in German). In this context two men faced one another, separated by a wooden barrier, over which they struck at one another with a certain number of prescribed blows of pike or sword. Generally, they were dressed in half armor, and blows below the waist were forbidden. The armor worn by Moro's subject consists of gorget (neck defense), cuirass composed of breastplate and backplate, short tassets attached to waist lames joining the breastplate, pauldrons (covering the shoulders) and complete arms, and close helmet. Characteristic of armor designed for foot combat is the breastplate without holes or other fixtures for the attachment of a lancerest (which would have been present if this armor had been designed for

13. The provenance of Mor's *Self Portrait* in the Uffizi has generally gone unnoticed. A. M. Crinò (in *Rivista d'arte*, XXXIII, 1958, pp. 115–118) published the documents showing that the painting had been bought in 1682 for the grandduke of Tuscany from the collection of the late Sir Peter Lely. In fact the painting appears in the sale catalogue of Lely's collection of 1682. (See T. Borenius, "Sir Peter Lely's collection" in *Burlington Magazine*, 83, 1943, p. 187), where it appears as "Sir Antony Moor, His own Picture." The dimensions are given as 3' 8" x 2' 9", and it was accompanied by a portrait of his wife of the same dimensions. What may be the same painting appears in the inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's paintings (compiled ca. 1649), many of which went to Lely. It is listed as "The picture of Antonio More by William Kaye," dimensions 3' x 2'. But there are also at least three

pictures listed under Mor's name in Buckingham's collection that are not identified and that may also be the picture in question. See B. Fairfax, *A Catalogue of the . . . Collection of pictures of Georges Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, 1768, pp. 18–19. It cannot be positively identified in the 1635 list of pictures at York House published by Randall Davies in *Burlington Magazine*, X, 1906, pp. 376 ff. It is still unclear how the painting came to be in England.

14. The text is given in J. Puraye, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

15. Mr. Pyhrr's letter is dated Dec. 18, 1978, and an amending letter was written on Jan. 9, 1979. Mr. Norman's letter, substantiating the conclusions of Mr. Pyhrr, is dated March 15, 1979. I am very grateful to both gentlemen for their assistance on this very specialized question.

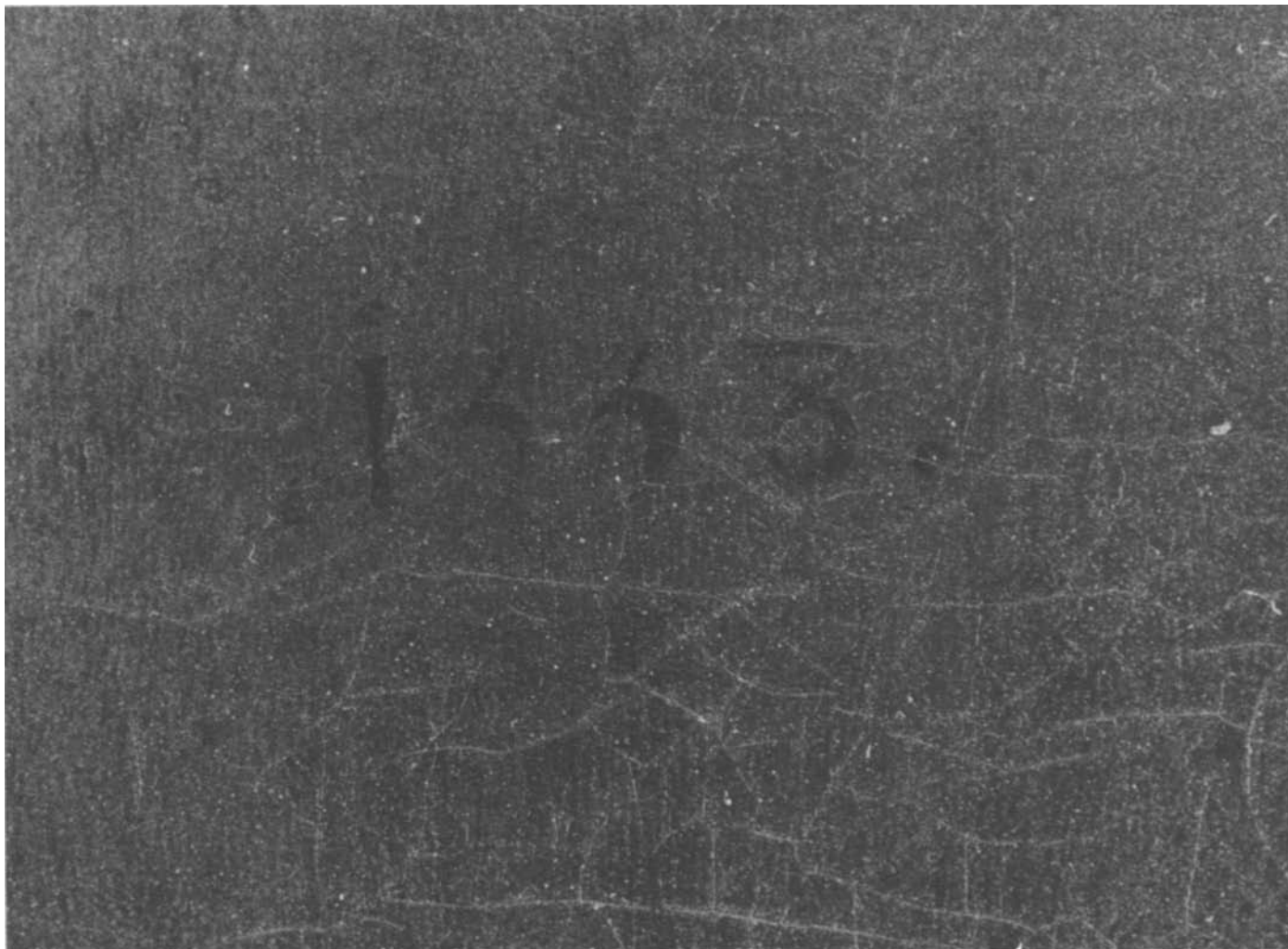


Figure 3. Detail of date, upper left corner of Fig. 1.

equestrian use in the field or in some form of mounted tournament) and pauldrons of symmetrical shape.

Judging from the curved profile of the breastplate, I would have dated the armor ca. 1560. The armor is most likely German in manufacture and reminds me most of some armors made in the 1550's by Wolfgang Grosschedel of Landshut for members of the Austrian branch of the Hapsburg court. A number of these harnesses still survive and many are decorated with vertical bands of scrolling foliage similar to that found in the Moro portrait. This "running-vine" pattern of etched decoration is found on the armors ordered for the Vienna court from Grosschedel in Landshut, on several armors also by Grosschedel made for King Philip II of Spain (Madrid, inv. no. A.231), as well as by Augsburg armorers who continued the series of Vienna armors begun by Grosschedel. This pattern of armor decoration is not, therefore, foolproof evidence for localizing the town of manufacture. The slightly "humped" pauldrons do recall some Landshut armors by Grosschedel (Paris, G.65), though occasionally Augsburg armors do have similar pauldrons. The close helmet, evidently resting on a table in front of the subject, has an upper visor deeply set below the upper edge of the lower visor. This is not typical of Landshut construction, but I have located it on several Augsburg armors ca. 1560 (Musée de l'Armée, Paris, G.69; Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 29.155.2). In sum, I would say that the armor was South German in origin, probably from either Landshut or Augsburg.

What is most striking about this portrait is that the rapier is worn on the right side, clearly indicating the subject as a left-handed person. The sword was always suspended on the side opposite to the hand of primary use. As a fencer, Moro's subject would have held the rapier in his left hand and his parrying dagger (which, opposite to usual custom, would have been attached to his belt on the left side) in his right hand. . . . The only other instances I recall in which the sword is hung from the right side is in the case of . . . the gentleman portrayed in a portrait by G. B. Moroni in the National Gallery, London.

Unfortunately this does not help to identify the sitter;

such armor may well have been supplied on demand to many parts of the Hapsburg empire, and there is no reason to assume the sitter was German.^{15a}

One other clue is left to us: the origins of the painting itself. Fortunately part of the earlier provenance of the Getty canvas is recorded. In April, 1903, it was sold with the collection of Prince Centurione Scotto of Genoa in the gallery belonging to Giorgio Sangiorgi in Rome. Lot 43, described as a portrait of a young gentleman by "Antoine Moor," is illustrated in the catalogue, allowing for no confusion.¹⁶ It was one of a group of pictures, most of which were not very distinguished. They were the works of art presumably accumulated by the family over the course of some centuries, but one could not describe it as a typical Genoese collection. There were a few portraits of Genoese personalities by both French and Flemish artists, a few Venetian works of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, at least one Flemish fifteenth century painting close to Van Der Weyden in style, a few Seicento pictures, a couple of Tuscan primitives, and even a Dutch picture or two. Besides the Mor there was an oval portrait (lot 225) which was attributed to Pieter Pourbus, but which looks as if it might also be by Mor, or perhaps Adriaen Key. A portrait by Tintoretto, or at least in his style, of an antiquarian resident in Rome is one of the few paintings in the group that is traceable in the later literature.¹⁷

Earlier guidebooks to Genoa mention the two Centurione palazzi as among those worth visiting and also describe some of their contents. The collection sold in 1903 was that owned during the late nineteenth century by Prince Giulio Centurione and kept in his palazzo near the mint.¹⁸ It is described in 1875 by Alizeri, and though most of the attributions were different, there is no doubt that it was the same group of pictures, with the minor works omitted.¹⁹ Our painting was apparently considered to be the work of Paris Bordone and the subject is given simply as a portrait of an "armigero."²⁰ Alizeri's earlier guide to Genoa from 1846 also describes the collection,

15a. See note 28.

16. Unfortunately I do not know the buyer of lot 43.

17. P. Rossi, *Jacopo Tintoretto*, v. 1; *I ritratti*, 1974, p. 133, fig. 117. It is presently in a private collection.

18. According to E. and F. Poggi, *Descrizione della città di Genova da un anonimo del 1818*, 1969, p. 127, this palace, now known as the Palazzo Balduino, was in the Via Edilio Raggio, no. 4. It was erected in 1588 for Benedetto Lomellino, later belonging to the Imperiale in the

seventeenth century, and only later to the Centurioni.

19. F. Alizeri, *Guida illustrativa del cittadino e del forastiero per la città di Genova*, 1875, pp. 372-373.

20. All of the pictures mentioned by Alizeri can be identified in the 1903 sale excepting the Strozzi, Guercino, Castiglione and probably the Piola. There is, of course, some room for doubt about identifying the Mor with the painting by Bordone, but it is nonetheless very probable.

21. F. Alizeri, *Guida artistica per la città di Genova*, 1846, v. 1, p. 551.



Figure 4. A. Mor. *Self Portrait*. Uffizi. Photo: Alinari.

which belonged at that time to Prince Giambattista Centurione, but mentions only a few paintings considered to be the most important.²¹ The Tintoretto (but called Titian) is there, but not the Mor. Before that time the collection cannot be identified in any of the palazzi belonging to the Centurioni. A guide of 1818 does not describe any gallery of pictures in the palace near the mint.²²

To judge from the 1903 catalogue, the collection of Prince Centurione was not one about which one can easily generalize. We cannot, for instance, say that it was formed primarily in one century or another. It is normal enough to find Flemish paintings in Genoese collections, but the taste in evidence is too eclectic to allow us to assume that the pictures are intimately connected with the history of the Centurione family. And the point of this is that we cannot assume that the sitters of the portraits were members of the Centurione family, though a few were supposed to be.

Having said all this, I think it is still conceivable that the sitter of lot 43, the Getty portrait, may have been a Centurione. The reasons, not overwhelming ones, are as follows: the Doria family, which dominated political life in Genoa at mid-century, and their close allies, the Centurioni, were close adherents of the emperor Charles V, and later of Philip II. Various members of both families played prominent roles in the affairs of the Hapsburg empire. And during the late 1550's when Philip was directing his armies against the French, some of them were present in the north. One in particular, about whom we are unfortunately not very well informed, was Adamo Centurione, a close aide of Andrea Doria. Adamo is described as a merchant, soldier, and banker. He was an ambassador for Charles V, and he is known to have fought in Africa and Germany (where he may have acquired his armor).²³ He was also apparently in Brussels in 1558. Correspondence exists between Philip and Adamo Centurione on the subject of finances during the year 1558.²⁴ The difficulty with identifying

our sitter with Adamo Centurione is his age. Our red-headed man in armor cannot be over forty, and according to one source, Adamo Centurione was already governor of Genoa in 1528 and active with Charles V in 1535.²⁵ He is also supposed to have erected a palace in Genoa in 1511.²⁶ There were apparently two members of the family named Adamo (the other is supposed to have lived from 1578–1658),²⁷ and there might be some other confusion involved, but Adamo nonetheless seems out of the question. There was also Marco Centurione Ultramarino who worked for Andrea Doria in 1547 and who died in 1565; no doubt others could be found, but there seems to be no obvious candidate. The sitter of our picture must, therefore, remain anonymous for the time being. But it is to be hoped that one day a print or some other portrait of our sitter will come to light.²⁸

Portraits such as that in the Getty collection came to set the style for military portraiture in the Hapsburg court, and especially in Spain, for the remainder of the century and well into the next. Mor's paintings, even when depicting what must have been very stern and forbidding sitters, manage to give them a humanity and a sympathetic aspect that few other artists achieved. Mor's portraits do not completely remove the sitters from our own realm. They do not become ciphers of authority or men whose purpose it is simply to impose their will. The care that Mor takes to render their features keeps them from becoming generalizations. One is aware of their importance without being awed by it.

The style did not originate with Mor, however. There is little doubt that Mor had it from Titian. Titian's portrait of Charles V, done in the early 1530's, or his portrait of Francesco Maria I della Rovere (Uffizi), done a little later in the decade, are the kind of portraits that Mor based his upon. The portrait of Charles, for instance, could have been seen by Mor in Spain. Other examples, contemporary with Mor himself, are Titian's portrait of Ferdinand I done at Augsburg in 1548, and

22. See Poleggi, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 127.

23. See A. Cappellini, *Dizionario biografico di Genovesi illustri e notabili*, 1932, p. 35.

24. See M. van Durme, *Les Archives générales de Simancas et l'histoire de la Belgique*, 1964, v. 1, p. 42.

25. See De la Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, v. 4, 1864, p. 910.

26. See Poleggi, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 108.

27. See Cappellini, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

28. In a letter of April, 1979, Mr. Phyr addressed himself to the question of whether a Genoese would be expected to wear a suit of armor of South German make. He points to an armor made for Stefano Doria in 1551 by Anton Peffenhauser of Augsburg, parts of which still exist, and there are other examples as well. "The Italian generals known to have ordered Augsburg armor tend to be those in Imperial service."

Titian's portrait of Philip II done in the early 1550's (now Prado). All of these portraits contain the same basic elements of Mor's work in that vein. They are all shown three-quarter, all fix their eyes on the viewer, all are in armor, and all have the helmet resting near them, usually on a table. Thus the Hapsburg portrait style for soldiers was already established when Mor took it up in 1549.

Mor's portrait of the Duke of Alva (New York, Hispanic Society) is his first attempt at this genre. The portrait of William of Orange of 1555, so far as is known, would have been the second, and it is extremely close to the Getty portrait in character. Although Mor was active as court painter for almost twenty more years, he is not known to have done any more portraits of this kind.

The type was picked up by Alonso Sanchez Coello from Mor and carried on for another decade or so. Sanchez Coello's work was in turn imitated by Pantoja de la Cruz until well into the next century.

Until the sitter of the Getty portrait has been identified, it is not possible to understand in a complete way the painting's significance for its time; one cannot know, for instance, how many people may have seen it during the sixteenth century. It seems likely that it was kept in a private residence in Genoa for most, if not all, of its history, and therefore seen by relatively few people. But after a passage of 420 years it is once again on public display and can now begin to take its proper place in our knowledge of the period.

*Curator of Painting
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu*

Give but a glimpse and fancy draws
Whate'er the Grecian Venus was.

—Edward Moore

A Note on the Afterlife of the *Crouching Aphrodite* in the Renaissance¹

Selma Holo

The motif of the *Crouching Aphrodite* was as if custom-made for artists of the first half of the sixteenth century in Italy. Predictably, numerous pieces of sculpture were inspired by the ancient statue; Antico, Riccio, and Giambologna are only a few of the Renaissance sculptors who adapted the motif to current aesthetic concerns. Less expected, though, was the discovery in the course of this study of a large number of innovative paintings, prints, and drawings clearly inspired by this quintessentially three-dimensional work of art. Cinquecento artists appear to have viewed the *Crouching Aphrodite* as a means of meeting one of their most interesting pictorial challenges: to transfer a bending, twisting, non-planar, in-the-round figure onto a flat surface in a manner that remained credible, plastic, and harmonious. Then, as the century moved into its third and fourth decades, the complex pose of the *Crouching Aphrodite* continued to lend itself to the growing preoccupation with elegance, with *maniera*. After the middle of the century, however, there are fewer and fewer direct references to the piece. And, by the last third of the cinquecento there is almost no interest in the *Crouching Aphrodite* except as an esoteric and empty cliché.

I THE CROUCHING APHRODITE AS KNOWN TO THE RENAISSANCE

Any attempt to determine the nature and extent of the influence of a classical motif must, of course, begin

with a clarification of which copies of the piece were known during the period under discussion. In the case of the *Crouching Aphrodite*, there is as yet no established evidence that ancient gems, coins, or vases bearing the image were available to Renaissance artists. On the other hand, Roman copies of the original Greek statue were surely familiar to them. At least four life-size examples were well known by the end of the quattrocento, and contemporary prints and drawings record both their existence and their condition.

Two of these pieces are of the so-called "Doidalsas" type and are known as the *Naples Venus* (Fig. 1) and the *Lely Venus* (Fig. 3).² Both have the left arm leaning on the left raised knee with the hand extended downward across the thighs. The left shoulder is correspondingly slightly raised; the right arm crosses over the right breast with that hand pointed upward alongside the left ear; the head is turned to the right side; the right thigh and calf are parallel to the floor; the back is rounded. The *Naples Venus* was, probably, as early as the first years of the sixteenth century, in the Loggia of the Palazzo Madama-Medici in Rome. Either Giovanni de' Medici (later Pope Leo X) or Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII) seems to have acquired the statue as early as 1505, when the family first purchased the Palazzo. (The Medici collection of antiquities was already well documented by Albertini's time, that is, by about 1510,³ and the 1566 inventory does list "una Venera nuda,

1. I would like to thank Jiri Frel for inviting me to write this article and Faya Causey for her watchfulness and help every step of the way. Peter Meller's advice at the beginning of the project was also very much appreciated. Phyllis Bober has my gratitude for allowing me to print material I gleaned from "The Census of Antique Works of Art Known to Renaissance Artists," Institute of Fine Arts, New York (hereafter: "Census") and for freely giving me whatever information she had regarding the afterlife of the *Crouching Aphrodite*.

2. See following article by Dericksen Brinkerhoff for discussion of this third century B.C. creation. For lack of a better term, the old label "Doidalsas type" will be retained here. The large Getty *Crouching Aphrodite* discussed in Brinkerhoff's article is of the same basic type as the *Naples* and *Lely Venuses*.

3. Recorded in the "Census."



Figure 1. Naples Venus. Naples, Museo Nazionale.
Photo: Alinari.

senza testa, raccolta siede sopra i suoi piedi.⁴)

Perhaps the most useful references to this statue are the visual ones found in the sketchbook of Marten van Heemskerck, who came to Rome from Haarlem between 1532 and 1535. While there, he made numerous drawings after the antique, including several after the *Naples Venus*. His drawings of the *Venus* are unique among his other drawings in that they show her from five points of view.⁵ Three of the poses (three quarters front, three quarters rear, and full rear) are on a single sheet which is devoted solely to that statue (Fig. 2a), while the side view and front view are on two additional sheets (Figs. 2b and c) which include many other antiquities in the Loggia as well. The first of these folios is significant in that it indicates Heemskerck's awareness of the variety of interesting views offered by the statue. On the other hand, the second and third folios are of value, first for the

information they give us regarding the Croucher's precise location in the Loggia, and second for the record of its condition before restoration. There is another aspect, however, of the significance of Heemskerck's sketches and others like his and that is the role they played in the spread of the motif within and even outside Italy.⁶ As is well known, drawing books such as these were held in high esteem throughout the first half of the cinquecento, exerting an influence on other artists second only to prints.

The *Lely Venus* (Fig. 3), currently in the British Museum, was in Urbino, in the possession of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, from the end of the quattrocento until 1502. (In 1502 its owner was, for a short time, Cesare Borgia; but it quickly reverted to Guidobaldo.) Shortly afterward it was acquired by Isabella d'Este for the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua.⁷ The *Lely Venus* is of special

4. Naples inv. 6297. As indicated by M. Winner, *Zeichner sehen die Antike* (Berlin, 1967) 104–105 and R. Lullies, *Die Kauernde Aphrodite* (München, 1954) no. 17, p. 15.

5. C. Hülsen and H. Egger: *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck II* (Berlin, 1916) Fol. 48r, text bd. 30.

6. Heemskerck's sketchbook is the most famous of these, but we do

know of at least two others which record the *Naples Venus*. According to Winner, *op. cit.*, pl. 105, Hülsen knows of two others: in the *Codex Pighianus*, Fols. 180 and 186 of about 1550 and the so-called *Cambridge Sketchbook*, Trinity College R; 17, 3a, Fol. 22, of about 1550 to 1553. Also see N. W. Canedy, *The Roman Sketchbooks of Girolamo da Carpi* (London, 1976).

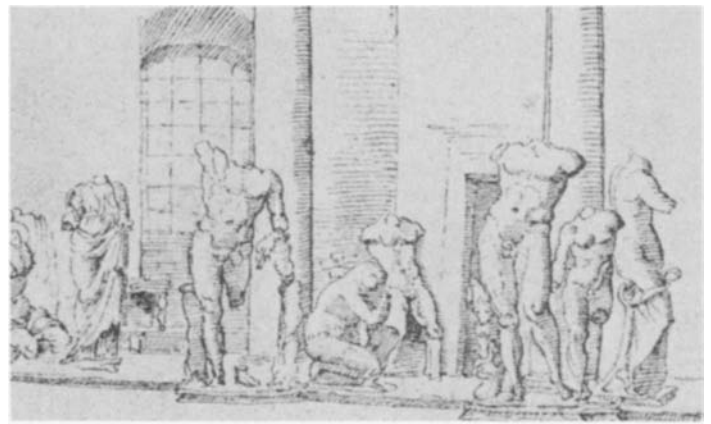


Figure 2a. Three views of the Naples Venus from Heemskerck sketchbook.

Figure 2b. Side view of Naples Venus from Heemskerck sketchbook.

Figure 2c. Front view of Naples Venus from Heemskerck sketchbook.

interest since, unlike any of the other examples extant in the Renaissance, it was intact except for the fingers of the right hand and the left arm below the elbow. As early as 1509 Marcantonio Raimondi made a print based directly on the statue (Fig. 4).⁸ Since it is so close to the piece itself, he must have seen the statue in Mantua, possibly on the journey he made from Venice to Rome in the very year the print was drawn. Although Marcantonio's engraving is very similar to the Lely piece, even to a suggestion of its plasticity, monumentality, and the appearance of stoniness, it does include certain important differences. These variations indicate a less stringently documentary approach to the recording of ancient statuary than is evident in Heemskerck's drawings and suggest Marcantonio's desire to create a somewhat more life-like presentation of the goddess. For instance, Marcantonio placed the statue in an imaginary landscape



setting. He also introduced another figure, an Eros, into the scene. This, as will become clear in a moment, presumably stems from his awareness of a variation of the *Crouching Aphrodite* that included an Eros. Marcantonio had a casual enough approach to antiquity to attempt such a synthesis of related forms when appropriate, as is surely the case in this pairing of mother and son.

Prints by Marcantonio had a remarkable circulation in the cinquecento. It is therefore not unexpected to find an engraving from about 1521–26 by Altdorfer reproducing it quite faithfully, but naturally in reverse (Fig. 5).⁹ Altdorfer placed Venus in an interior setting and coiffed her hair in a more contemporary way. There is even a fashionable cap on her head. The image still maintains its formal integrity, even if a certain suggestion of the softness of flesh has replaced Marcantonio's depiction of hard stone. But Altdorfer is responsible for a yet more

7. See Isabella d'Este's relevant letters reproduced in G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedite d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI, II* (Florence, 1839) 53ff. The statue later passed on to the collection of the English painter Peter Lely and thence to the royal art collection at Windsor. It was considered lost for some time but was rediscovered in the 1950s (C.C. Vermeule, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis," *American Journal of*

Archaeology 59 (1955) 150, Figs. 29–30.

8. A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre-Graveur XIV* (235) No. 313.

9. *Ibid.*, VIII, No. 33.



Figure 3. Lely Venus. London, British Museum.
Photo: Courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4. Crouching Venus, print based on the Lely Venus. Marcantonio Raimondi.



Figure 5. Venus at the Bath, engraving after Marcantonio. Albrecht Altdorfer.



Figure 6. Terme Venus. Rome, Museo Nazionale.
Photo: DAI, Rome.



Figure 7. Prado Venus. Madrid, Prado.
Photo: DAI, Rome.

subtle humanization of the figure: Eros and Aphrodite seem to be sharing an intimate moment, implied by Eros' fingers tenderly curling about Aphrodite's cap and his legs brought into close physical contact with her body. All things considered, when the *Crouching Aphrodite* reached the northern artist's hands, it changed from the true but enlivened representation of a monumental classical statue into a scene of gentle, cozy genre.

Another offshoot of the Italian print, further indicating the dissemination of the motif, can be seen in the brightly colored majolica ware of Florence.¹⁰ A plate in the Museo Nazionale in Florence, dated 1530, is perhaps the most extreme example we have of the transformation of the classical statue from a free-standing, monumental sculpture into a flat painted image decorating a charming

piece of domestic dinnerware.

A variation of the "Doidalsas" type known to the artists of the Renaissance is the *Terme Venus* (Fig. 6). This piece is noteworthy not so much for beauty and subtlety of execution as for the inclusion of Eros behind Aphrodite. It has been restored in several places: Aphrodite's head, neck, right forearm with the tail of the dolphin, part of the right shoulder, fingers of the left hand, front half of the right foot and the big toe; Eros' head, neck, part of the left wing; and the dolphin's tail and part of its body. Notwithstanding the incompleteness, it provides a visual explanation, a precedent as it were, for the many depictions of crouching females with infants behind them or to one side that appear throughout the period. At first the Terme statue belonged to

10. Reproduced in *Catalogo de Majolica* (Florence, 1971).



Figure 8. Detail, *Peace between the Gauls and the Romans*. Francesco Salviati. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. Photo: Brogi.

Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, who died in 1510. It is documented as having been in the Cesarini palace, which housed the original collection and which was founded about 1500. Then it passed, first to the Cesarini heirs, and then to the Ludovisi collection. Aldrovandi described, in the mid-sixteenth century, a sculptural group which corresponds to the Terme marble.¹¹

Although its history is relatively obscure, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the *Prado Venus* was also at hand in Rome during the Renaissance (Fig. 7). An unusual piece, it occupies a stylistic position midway between the "Doidalsas" type and the so-called Rhodian variant. In the cinquecento the Prado piece was in a ruined condition, minus head, arms, shoulder area, and right breast. It is distinguished from the other three known statues by the strong torsion between the upper and lower parts of the body, creating an opposition of knees and shoulders not evident in the previously discussed statues. The right shoulder and the right breast are higher than the left side of the body. Furthermore, the right knee and calf are no longer parallel to the ground; the knee instead points sharply downward, resting on a tortoise, and the back is now straight. There are several indications that the statue was well known even before the end of the quattrocento. As early as 1500 it was

written "e maximi lora hannuma testudo una nuda ha di sopra assai piu meglio con buono aspetto a perfecto attitudo."¹² It has also been pointed out that Antico made a statuette after the piece, perhaps in the nineties.¹³ A couple of drawings of the *Prado Venus* record the existence of the statue in the very early years of the cinquecento. One of these is an as yet unattributed sketch, probably part of a larger study of antiques, since two other figures are represented on the same sheet.¹⁴ A second drawing of the subject has been attributed to Giampetrino, an artist in the circle of Leonardo.¹⁵ Both sketches represent the statue unrestored, as it was known at the time, and both show the piece from the same torso frontal point of view. It is apparent that these two Renaissance draftsmen understood that the *Prado Venus*, unlike the "Doidalsas" type, has one major side. It is also clear that their purpose was to be, above all, archaeologically accurate in the rendering of the marble. That the piece remained unrestored throughout at least the first half of the sixteenth century is implied by a Salviati fresco of about 1550 (Fig. 8). In this rendition of *Camillus Attacking Brennus* in the Audience Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, the ruined statue appears in the background in a niche (as it was probably originally conceived in ancient times).¹⁶ As it lies alongside the much-admired *Torso Belvedere*, one suspects that the *Prado Venus* was also held in high esteem in the cinquecento.

Clearly, then, Renaissance artists had a number of possibilities open to them when they desired to base a figure on the *Crouching Aphrodite*: the *Naples*, *Lely*, *Terme* and *Prado Venuses* were at their disposal. The Prado version seems to have inspired by far the greatest number of works. An explanation may be the magnetism exerted by an unfinished or mutilated work of art. One is reminded of the similar appeal held by the *Torso Belvedere*. Confronted with the *Prado Venus*, an artist might have felt himself personally invited to complete her in his own art, thence to heal her wounds.

II THE AFTERLIFE

Piero di Puccio of Orvieto is perhaps the earliest painter to have turned to the *Crouching Aphrodite*, appar-

11. I learned of the existence of the *Terme Venus* in the Renaissance through the "Census," which also provided information documenting its existence at the time. Terme inv. 8564.

12. G. Govi, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. II, vol. 3 (Rome, 1976) pl. 50.

13. H. J. Hermann, "Pier Jacopo Alari-Rona colsi, gennant

L'Antico," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 28 (1910) 261ff.

14. Published in J. Bean, *Les Dessins de la Collection Bonnat* (Paris, 1960) no. 247.

15. L. Cogliati Arano, *Disegni di Leonardo e della sua cerchia alle Gallerie dell'accademia* (Venice, 1964) 14f., no. 47. Also, E. A. Arslan,

ently the *Prado Venus*, for inspiration. In his *Creation* fresco in the Camposanto in Pisa, which dates from the end of the trecento, we are presented with not one but two figures, Adam and Eve, who directly reflect the ancient motif (Fig. 9).¹⁷ Piero's transformation of Venus into Eve is less surprising once we realize that it is very much in a well-established medieval tradition. It illustrates how ancient forms often retained their currency throughout the high and late Middle Ages, but only by deviating from their original pagan meanings. For Venus to become Eve was, therefore, a logical leap to make for a *rétardataire* trecento mind. Ingeniously, Piero recognized the potential of the classical pose to function as a metaphor for the shame felt by Adam and Eve at the moment in the Old Testament narrative after the forbidden fruit had been tasted: each raises the right leg, screening the genital area. It should be stressed that Piero did not turn to the ancient statue for its complex plasticity in three-dimensional space. Quite the contrary. He chose it for what he probably saw as its formal adaptability to the flat, patterned effect which characterizes the *Creation* as a whole.

Another example of pre-cinquecento use of the *Crouching Aphrodite* can be seen in Ghirlandaio's *Birth of the Virgin* (Fig. 10). Here the central figure, crouching and turning to look at the procession of fashionable women behind her, is probably based on the *Prado Venus* with its firmly downthrust knee. It is unexpected to discover such a figure in Ghirlandaio's *oeuvre* because this is inherently such a dynamic pose and "there is never—or almost never—any emotion in the art of Ghirlandaio that could induce action, and rarely any will to describe even physical mobility of a decided kind."¹⁸ On the other hand, it still bears the stamp of his static conservatism because of the inert treatment of the ancient motif: he has diffused the ancient dynamism by masking the body in bulky clothing and by minimizing the torsion of the *Prado Venus*. Compared to later works inspired by the *Crouching Aphrodite*, Ghirlandaio's figure is wooden and planar, primarily decorative. It should be stressed that the artist's use of a classical source in an extremely ornamental way is consistent with his usual treatment of



Figure 9. Adam and Eve, detail of the *Creation*. Piero di Puccio. Pisa, Camposanto.



Figure 10. Detail, *Birth of the Virgin*. Domenico Ghirlandaio. Florence, S. Maria Novella. Photo: Alinari.

things Roman. For example, it has already been demonstrated that the painted architecture in the fresco is "alla antica," directly influenced by the "grotesques" that he saw on his second visit to Rome in 1481–2, the years when he visited Nero's *Domus Aurea*.¹⁹ It remained, though, not for Ghirlandaio but for Leonardo da Vinci,

"Un disegno Rinascimentale della Venere ingnocchiale sulla Tataruga al Museo del Prado," *Arte Lombarda* XIII (1968) 51f.

16. The Salviati painting was first brought to my attention in the "Census."

17. *Ibid.*

18. S. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence*

I (Cambridge, Mass., 1961) 25.

19. C. Clough, "The World of Grotesques," *Apollo* (July, 1971) 77–78. It should also be stressed that Ghirlandaio's interest in classical antiquity has been established by the publication by H. Egger of the *Codex Escorialensis*, *Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaio* (Vienna, 1906).



Figure 11. Sketch for *Leda*. Leonardo da Vinci. Windsor Castle, Royal Library.

the most advanced artist of the day, to use the motif as the basis for an innovative work of art.

It is already well known that the *Crouching Aphrodite* was the basis for Leonardo's lost painting of *Leda* (Figs. 11 and 12). Preliminary studies in Windsor are dated about 1504–08, and Ann Allison has even suggested that it was specifically the *Prado Venus* that inspired Leonardo.²⁰ Her argument is a complex one, perhaps the most convincing aspect of which is her indication of Leonardo's struggles with the placement of the head, shoulders, arms, and baby—precisely those parts absent in the ruined marble. However, it seems to me that Leonardo's treatment of the upper part of the body differs in the two drawings, one, indeed, being reminiscent of the *Prado* type, but the other of the "Doidalsas" type. Perhaps it is too much to say that one or the other copy is the sole basis of Leonardo's composition, rather Leonardo seems to have



Figure 12. Sketch for *Leda*. Leonardo da Vinci. Windsor Castle, Royal Library.

been generally alluding to the *Crouching Aphrodite*, both basic types of which he would have known well. Regardless of the specific sculptural inspiration, Leonardo's sketches are a turning point in the treatment of the ancient motif: from now on, the torsion is not only given its due but is heightened into a kind of serpentine, whirling energy. Leonardo has used the *Crouching Aphrodite* freely as the germ of an idea which, as Allison goes on to show, evolved further, incorporating other aspects of antiquity before reaching the final stage of the *Leda*. Leonardo also, unlike either Piero di Puccio or Ghirlandajo, did not turn her into a Christian image. Instead she metamorphosed into Leda, another pagan symbol of love.

Although it has not yet received scholarly attention, Raphael also made extensive use of the *Crouching Aphrodite* motif throughout his career. The earliest example

20. A. H. Allison, "Antique Sources of Leonardo's *Leda*," *Art Bulletin* (September 1974) 375–84. Folio no. 12337r left figure and left center figure.

21. There is much discussion about the dating of this painting and its sketch. The most reasonable chronology, though, seems to place the drawing slightly before Raphael's departure from Florence and the painting slightly after his arrival in Rome.



Figure 13. Study for the *Esterhazy Madonna*. Raphael. Florence, Uffizi.



Figure 14. *The Esterhazy Madonna*. Raphael. Budapest, Museum of Fine Art.

seems to be the unfinished *Esterhazy Madonna* in Budapest of about 1507–8 (Fig. 14) (and its preparatory drawing in the Uffizi, Fig. 13).²¹ His transformation of the goddess of love into the Virgin Mary may at first appear old-fashioned, but on reflection, it seems to be a visualization of recent contemporary thinking. The Neo-Platonists, especially Ficino, often mixed Christian and non-Christian ideas, seeing both traditions as direct manifestations of religious truth. Indeed, it has been explained that Lorenzo Buonicontri the poet, “having entered the ‘third orbit’ of the heavens, not only invokes the ruler of this orbit, Venus, in the same breath with the Virgin Mary but greets the ‘sancta Dei genetrix’ as a ‘goddess of goddesses’ whom he, in his previous works, has ‘often dared address under the fictitious name of Venus herself.’”²²

Both the drawing and the painting bear witness to

Raphael’s then still strong Leonardesque concerns. Iconographically, the *Esterhazy Madonna* is based on Leonardo’s lost painting of the *Madonna, St. John, and Christ Child* (existing today in a copy by Andrea di Salerno in Naples), probably the earliest work to include these three personages in one painting. Stylistically, the composition reflects Leonardesque concepts, as developed in the *Leda* drawings—those of representing ideal sinuous forms convincingly in space. But whereas the older master apparently called on Aphrodite to imbue his *Leda* with generative force, Raphael, like Hesiod, called on Aphrodite to “drench her head in grace.” Like Leonardo, Raphael’s quotation of the antique is no mere matter of copying. This Madonna probably refers basically to the “Doidalsas” type of *Crouching Aphrodite*, an example of which Raphael must have known well: growing up in Urbino, his father a poet attached to the court of Guido-

22. Discussed by E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York, 1960) 186–187.



Figure 15. Putto, detail from *The Judicial Virtues*. Raphael. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.



Figure 16. Detail, *Triumph of Bacchus*. Balducci. Gubbio, Palazzo dei Consoli. Photo: Alinari.

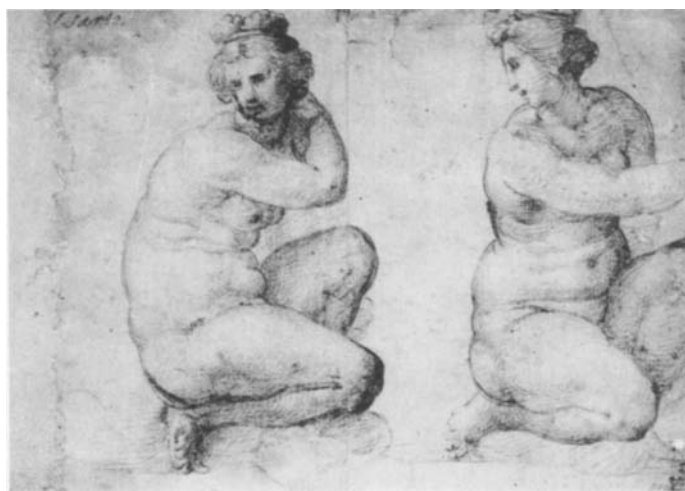


Figure 17. Two studies derived from the Crouching Aphrodite. Fra Bartolommeo. Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum.

baldo, Raphael would surely have been acquainted with the *Lely Venus* (Fig. 3). His drawing, probably sketched while still in Florence, gently recalls that statue. The painting, on the other hand, was not begun until Raphael moved to Rome and his art had gained in "gravità." This is enhanced by both the ruins of the Roman Forum introduced into the landscape and by the amplified figure of the Madonna. She has become altogether monumental, occupying even more of the picture space than she did in the drawing, perhaps because Raphael had by then studied the *Naples Venus*, a heavier image than the slim *Lely* statue. As if a single allusion to the motif were not enough, Raphael restated the *Crouching Aphrodite* via the baby St. John. With the baby, Raphael is even more explicit about his source: the arms, only partially rendered in the Madonna, are here complete and are even closer to those of the statue. Like a theme with variations, this lovely pair echoes and mirrors each other's pose.

Raphael's later uses of the *Crouching Aphrodite* can all be seen in Rome. In the Stanza della Segnatura, painted about 1511, a charming putto in the classical attitude can be seen above the *Virtue of Justice* (Fig. 15). Justice, too, seems to have assumed a seated variation of the *Crouching Aphrodite* position. The putto is simply a more vigorous version of the baby St. John of three years before. Again, three years later, in the Lunette of the Sibyls in Santa Maria della Pace, we have another allusion to the motif: here Raphael, in the exuberance of his mature style, has recalled the *Prado Venus*, a piece easily accessible to him in Rome. The Sibyl radiates something different now, a kind of charged grace. Raphael has painted her in a position physically even more impossible than the ancient one, halfway between a crouch and a sit. Otherwise it faithfully mimics the *Prado Venus*. As in the previous examples, a child above the Sibyl also takes the crouching position, once more in mirror image of the adult posture. Raphael, then, like Leonardo, approached the ancient statue in a faithful but free-spirited way—a manner classical but never pedantic; graceful but never simplistic.²³

23. It has been suggested that Michelangelo, too, used the Crouching Aphrodite motif, specifically as inspiration for the Virgin Mary in the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel. Although there may be a relationship, it seems a little distant to be included in this survey.

24. Loeser Bequest, inv. no. 1932.141. First pointed out by A. Mongan and P. Sachs, *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946) Fig. 53.

After 1515 there was a flurry of paintings using the *Crouching Aphrodite* in and around Florence and Rome. A few instances will suffice to indicate the ubiquity of the motif. Balducci, the Umbrian-Sienese artist, painted a *Triumph of Bacchus* about 1517 in the Palazzo dei Consoli in Gubbio (Fig. 16). Here the crouching figure, a young girl at the far left, appears with numerous other pagan characters in a frieze-like arrangement. The picture conveys neither the dynamism, the grace, nor the three-dimensional qualities of the Leonardo or Raphael works, although it is a more literal transcription of the ancient piece than theirs. Presumably about the same time as Balducci, Fra Bartolommeo sketched two versions of the *Crouching Aphrodite* on a single sheet of paper now in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 17).²⁴ He was in Rome in 1514, and it is evident that he was inspired by the *Naples Venus*. He felt free to adjust the arms and the position of the head in the sketches and also to make the goddess much pudgier than she is in the statue. Presumably he saw possibilities for her in future works of his own.

Parmigianino, on the other hand, conceived of the figure as more slender than she was in the ancient sculptor's eyes. This Mannerist artist used the Croucher many times in his work, but a drawing in Budapest is one of those closest to the model.²⁵ Dating about 1525, it shows Venus with a drape over her shoulders looking back at Cupid. The positions of the child and the piece of drapery suggest that Parmigianino knew the *Terme Venus*. True to his own style and vision, he drew Venus as, above all else, elegant.

In 1540 Perino del Vaga made explicit use of the Prado statue in his fresco series *Episodes from the Aeneid* in the Palazzo Massimo alle Collone in Rome (Fig. 18). In a direct quotation from the ancient Venus, we see two figures reflecting each other as in a mirror. These figures are used in a newly decorative way: they function as framing devices, almost architectural in nature, for the classical narration they enclose. The delicate balance of the High Renaissance, where a piece of art strove to be at once artful and real, has here been upset, and we are struck primarily with the contrived self-consciousness of



Figure 18. Detail of framing figures, *Episodes from the Aeneid*. Piero del Vaga. Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Collone. Photo: Alinari.

a learned quotation.

There are two unusual examples in portraits by Bronzino (Figs. 19 and 20). They date from later in the century and are ostentatious quotations after the antique. To refer in this way to older art is not unique in Bronzino's oeuvre: "so erscheint der Marmor-David des Donatello aus dem Bild des Ugolino Martelli in Berlin (1553), augenscheinlich eine Renaissance Umbildung der 'kauernenden Aphrodite' in den Händen eines junger Mannes auf einem etwa gleichzeitigen Louvre-Porträt und neben einem Jüngling auf einem Bild der Uffizi."²⁶ A truly Mannerist approach to antiquity is presented here. The marble statue has been reduced in size and importance and serves only as the attribute of a cultured gentleman. In both paintings, Bronzino has represented crouching figures that correspond closely to the statue down to the legs. In the Louvre portrait, he arranged the legs in a new position that cannot be defined as crouching, sitting or standing; in the Uffizi portrait, he altered the lower legs to a literal bathing pose. The latter statuette has also been turned into an inkwell, a peculiar conceit that leads us to wonder whether the piece might be common in the *kleinkunst* of the day.²⁷

The *Crouching Aphrodite* was also known in Venice, but it apparently did not enter the painters' vocabulary until well into the second decade of the cinquecento, by which time prints, drawings, and statuettes after the various marbles were dispersed throughout Italy. Lorenzo

25. A. E. Popham, *The Drawings of Parmigianino* (New York, 1953) 34.

26. I am grateful to Robert Simon for his help regarding Bronzino and the painting in question and for leading me to Bernhard Schweitzer's early recognition of the ancient statue in his article, "Zum Antikenstudien des Angelo Bronzino," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 33 (1918) 45–63.

27. There are surely uses of Crouching Aphrodites in the *Kleinkunst* of the day. For example, I have found a small work in chalcedony, an intaglio made about 1530, with the Croucher as Susannah. Like the Bronzino, it is the same as the ancient piece down to the lower leg area. The intaglio is reproduced in E. Kris, *Kleinkunst in Italien* (Leipzig, 1956) Fig. 294. A late sixteenth century bronze inkstand attributed to Johann Gregor Van der Scharde of a nymph seated on a rock (Fig. 21) was offered at Sotheby Parke Bernet December 15, 1977, lot 154, fig.



Figure 19. *Portrait of a Sculptor*. Bronzino. Paris, Louvre. Photo: AGRACI.



Figure 20. *Portrait of a Youth with his Lute*. Bronzino. Florence. Uffizi. Photo: Brogi.



Figure 21. Flemish bronze inkstand. Attributed to J. G. Van der Schardt. Photo: Sotheby's.

Lotto seems to have been the first Venetian to use the piece. In 1517 he quoted the *Prado Venus* in a painting of *Susannah and the Elders*, now in the Contini-Bonocossi collection, Florence.²⁸ Such a bathing scene, including voyeurs, was anticipated in antiquity on the cover of a bronze mirror described in Professor Brinkerhoff's article elsewhere in this issue, but not known in the Renaissance. Although very close to the statue, and even nude, the painted image of Susannah does not quite succeed in conveying either the torsion or the plasticity of contemporary Florentine or Roman works. By about 1530, however, the piece must have been better understood in High Renaissance terms. It even seems to have become an important element in the training of young artists in their drawing skills. If drawing this statue could be mastered, it might have been reasoned, surely the artist had learned his craft. This situation is strongly suggested in a painting by Licinio in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle (Fig. 22), a portrait perhaps of the artist Pordenone and his pupils. In it the master holds a reduced cast of the *Prado Venus* with

28. Illustrated in B. Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto* (New York, 1956), pl. 110.



Figure 22. *Pordenone and his Pupils*. Licinio. Alnwick Castle. Photo: Courtesy of the Duke of Northumberland.



Figure 23. *Allegory of Geometry and Arithmetic*. Veronese. Venice, Library of San Marco.

restored head, upper arms, and chest. A pupil looks to the master for approval as he holds out a drawing of the statue—the word *disegno* even appears on the sheet.

Veronese's taste for the goddess Venus resulted in his using the ancient motif often. One of his most faithful renditions is the bathing scene of *Diana and Actaeon* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Here the Croucher is shown from the side, very close to the *Naples Venus* (cf. Heemskerck's side-view of the statue, Fig. 2a). Furthermore, Veronese has maintained an iconographic proximity to the classical concept: although no longer an Aphrodite, the nymph is still participating in a pagan bathing scene. A more unusual use of the motif is the artist's *Allegory of Geometry and Arithmetic* (Fig. 23) of about 1556. In this ceiling painting in the Library of San Marco, the crouching figure is seen from behind, and the energetic torsion and oppositions of knee and shoulder indicate the *Prado Venus* as the prototype. The same model was used for the figure of *Industry* in 1575, a ceiling painting in the Sala del Colegiato in the Palazzo Ducale, where the statue's pose is reversed. Veronese has made the form even more monumental than it is in the ancient statue; the figure is bigger, fuller, and the spread of her legs is more powerful. Another Veronese adaptation is his painting of *St. Mark* in Saint Sebastiano. This extremely foreshortened, twisted image is the first time the

motif had been adapted for a front view and the first time it was male. In all of these instances, Veronese shows a deep understanding and mastery of the ancient motif. Like innovative artists already discussed, he saw fit to vary the motif at will, using it as raw material for his own style rather than being locked into a literal, prosaic representation.²⁹

Titian's use of the *Crouching Aphrodite* has already been pointed out by C. Gould.³⁰ Although there are many echoes of the goddess of love throughout Titian's *oeuvre*, the example Gould gives is the crouching nymph with both knees raised in the *Diana and Actaeon* of 1556–9 in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. The work is replete with other quotations from antiquity, quotations freely made and suggestive of statues come to life. For example, Actaeon is a paraphrase of the *Apollo Belvedere* and the nymph nearby is reminiscent of the "Cleopatra"/*Ariadne*. But there is another variation of the crouching figure in Titian's *Diana and Callisto*, also of 1556–9 and also in the National Gallery of Scotland, presumably planned as a pendant to the *Diana and Actaeon*. Here a nymph repeats the pose of the Croucher in the *Diana and Actaeon*, except that one of her legs is allowed to dangle in the water. Brendel has already demonstrated that the sculpture of a small boy carrying a large water jug in the *Diana and Callisto* is based on a

29. See G. Fiocco, *Paolo Veronese* (Rome, 1934).

30. C. Gould, "The Cinquecento at Venice," *Apollo* 95 (1972) 464–469.

Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts, 1977 to mid 1979

Gillian Wilson

1. *Cabinet-on-stand*

French (Gobelins?), c. 1675–80

Height: 7' 5"; Width: 4' 5".

Acc. no. 76.DA.45

(The cabinet is displayed in Gallery 210.)

This cabinet was the first object to be acquired by the department after the death of J. Paul Getty. It was bought from an English estate and is probably one of the most important pieces of furniture of this date to exist, both inside and outside France. It dates from the 1670s and was probably made in the French Royal workshops of the Gobelins for Louis XIV. An almost identical cabinet remains today in the Scottish seat of the Duke of Buccleuch, the Castle of Drumlanrig. That cabinet is reputed to have been given by Louis XIV to Charles II, who in turn gave it to the Duke of Monmouth. There is no documentary evidence to prove this, and it seems more likely that both cabinets arrived in England in the first decades of the nineteenth century when such pieces were so eagerly sought after by the British aristocracy.

The cabinet is decorated with tortoiseshell, brass, pewter, ivory, and exquisitely wrought panels of wood marquetry. The panel forming the central door of the cabinet shows the Cockerel of France above the Lion of the Netherlands and the Eagle of the Holy Roman Empire. No doubt this is a reference to French supremacy over these two countries in the wars of the 1670s. The figures beneath the cabinet were discovered, during the course of restoration, to have been painted with thick layers of bronze paint. Underneath, the original layer of crackelured cream paint remained largely intact, and it was decided to strip the figures to reveal their original condition, a startling combination of cream and gold against the dark tones of the cabinet.

2. *Pair of mounted celadon shells*

Japanese and French; c. 1750.

Height: 6⁵/₈"; Width: 1' 7³/₈"; Depth: 6¹/₂".

Acc. no. 77.DE.90

(The shells are exhibited in the Régence panelled room, Gallery 211.)

These extraordinary objects appear to be unique. Each Japanese celadon ceramic shell, which dates from about 1700, was mounted in Paris with three small gilt-bronze feet formed of piles of rocks and shells, while the lid takes the form of a gilt-bronze coral leaf with a sea-weed handle. Such confections, used to house pot-pourri, were popular in the mid-eighteenth century, and the pages of the Day Book of the famous dealer Lazare Duvaux show countless objects of this kind being sold to members of Parisian society.

3. *Long cabinet or bookcase*

French (Paris); c. 1745.

Height: 3' 10"; Width: 15' 3"; Depth: 1' 9".

Acc. no. 77.DA.91

(The cabinet is displayed in Gallery 217.)

This cabinet, while being of remarkable size, is also of extraordinary quality. The fine panels of marquetry are surrounded by gilt-bronze mounts of intricate design. The cabinet is attributed to Bernard van Risenburgh (master 1730, died 1765/66), the most renowned of all rococo cabinetmakers, whose work is represented by ten other pieces in the collection.

It is not easy to suggest what the original function of this piece might have been. The three cabinets (joined together by iron bolts) are fitted for shelves, and an old handwritten label glued to the top reads, "Les clefs pour la bibliothèque." The cabinet may have housed books



Figure 1. Cabinet. French (Gobelins?); c. 1675–1680.

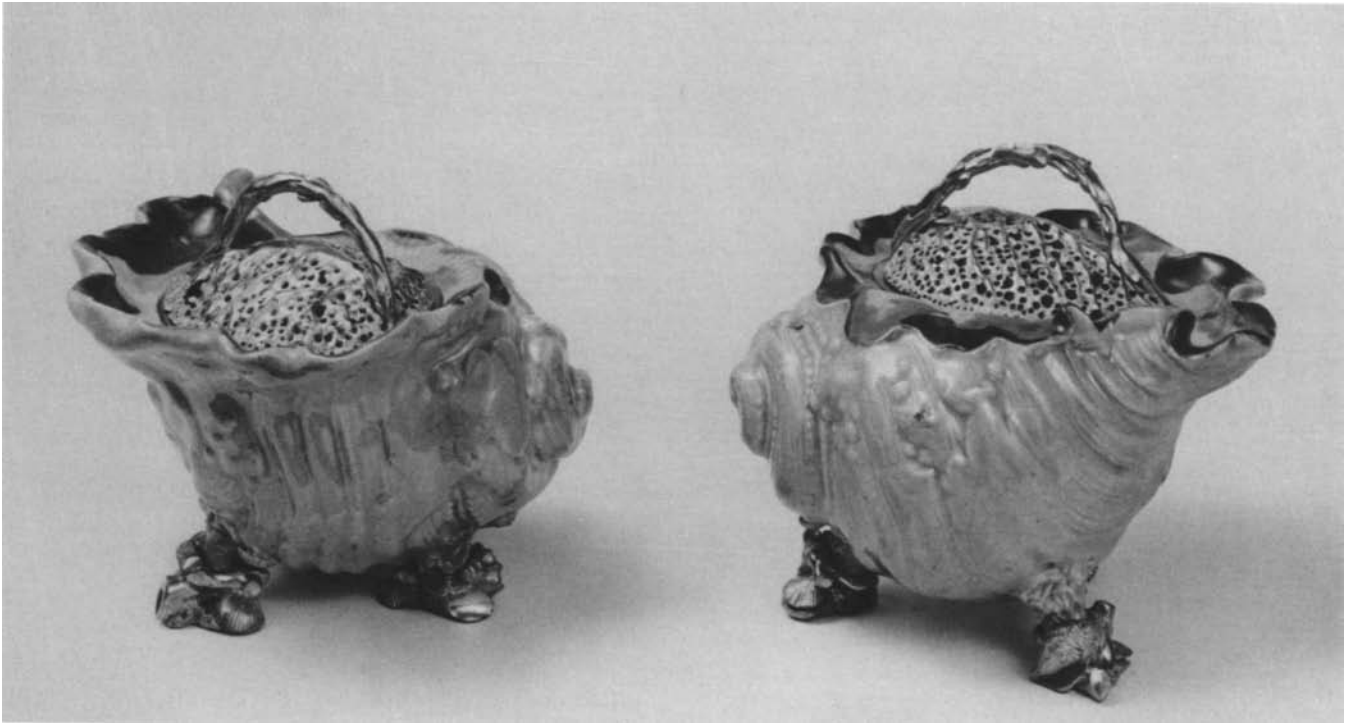


Figure 2. Pair of Pot Pourri Vases. Ceramic: Japanese, c. 1700. Gilt-bronze mounts: French (Paris), c. 1750.



Figure 3. Cabinet. French (Paris); c. 1745.



Figure 4. Wall Light, one of a set of four. French (Paris); c. 1780.

with lesser bindings.

It once belonged to comte Henri de Greffulhe whose father was part of a circle of connoisseurs that included Sir Richard Wallace, the founder of the Wallace Collection, and George Hoentschel whose collection, having been acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan, is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The cabinet was sold after Greffulhe's death in 1937 (Sothebys, 1937, July 23, Lot. 50). The Getty Museum acquired it in 1977 from the Paris dealer Aveline.

4. *Set of four gilt-bronze wall lights*

French (Paris); c. 1780

Height: 2' 3"; Width: 1' 1½"; Depth: 10½".

Acc. no. 77.DF.29

(The wall lights are exhibited in Gallery 220.)

These four wall lights were acquired in 1977 from the London dealer Alexander and Berendt, who had bought them at auction the previous year (Christies, 1976, December 2, Lot. 3). The museum already possessed a pair of lights of this model, and it was thought wise to extend the set in order to furnish a room consistently. The large, free-standing model is relatively well known and a number of identical lights exist. Wall lights of the same design appear in a water colour drawing of the *grand salon* at Chantilly, made in 1784 as one of a volume of such sketches given to the Archduchess Maria Feodorovna. It is perhaps fitting that the wall lights hang in the museum at the sides of a set of Gobelin tapestries given to the Archduchess by Louis XVI in that same year, which she hung at Pavlovsk.

5. *Mounted pot-pourri vases*

Chinese and French (Paris: c. 1750)

Height: 12"; Width: 9"; Depth: 5".

Acc. no. 78.DE.4

(They are exhibited on the mantelpiece of the rococo panelled room, Gallery 213.)

These objects fall into the same exotic category as the celadon shells. The various ceramic elements are of Kang H'si porcelain, put together by a Parisian *bronzier* to form pot-pourri vases in about 1750. The bases are decorated with small lizards and shells. A number of such assemblages exist bearing these elements on their gilt-bronze bases: all were no doubt made by the same unknown *bronzier*.

Such elaborate confections are rare and do not often



Figure 5. Pair of Pot Pourri Vases. Ceramic: Chinese, c. 1700. Gilt-bronze mounts: French (Paris), c. 1750.

appear in British and American collections. This is perhaps because the Protestant taste of the early English collectors at the great dispersals after the French revolution did not warm to such frivolity.

The groups were acquired from the New York dealer Matthew Schutz.

6. *Mounted celadon ewers*

Chinese and French (Paris); c. 1745–1749

Height: 1' 11⁷/₈"; Width: 1' 1"; Depth: 8¹/₂".

Acc. no. 78.DE.9

(The ewers are exhibited in Gallery 215.)

These large ewers were acquired by the museum at the sale of Henry Ford II in 1978 (Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, February 24, Lot. 56). The large Chinese celadon vases, decorated in white and blue with animals,

birds and trees have been elaborately mounted with gilt bronze to form ewers. The mounts bear the stamp of a small crowned C, showing that a tax had been paid on the copper (*cuiure*) content of the bronze at some point between 1745 and 1749. The tax was only in force between those years. The ewers make a fine addition to the museum's steadily growing collection of mounted oriental porcelain. They are thought to have belonged to the duc de Cambacérès, whose famous collection was largely dispersed during the Great Depression. Since then they have passed through the hands of such eminent dealers as Seligman, Hans Stiebel and Jacques Helft.



Figure 6. Pair of Ewers. Ceramic: Chinese: c. 1662–1722. Gilt-bronze mounts: French (Paris), c. 1745–1749.

7. Set of four gilt-bronze wall lights

French (Paris); c. 1765.

Height: 2' 1½"; Width: 1' 4"; Depth: 11⅝".

Acc. no. 78.DF.263

(The wall lights are exhibited in Gallery 221.)

This important set of four neoclassical wall lights was made by the great *bronzier* Philippe Caffiéri (1714–1774). In an inventory taken of Caffiéri's stock in 1770, wall lights of the same model are described:

No. 94 Une paire de grands bras à trois branches en couleur avec des Guirlands de laurier agrapées dans les rouleaux des branches et nouées d'une draperie en noir fumée avec un Vase dont le corps est aussi en noir de fumée. 650 [livres].

Six wall lights of identical form, with patinated vases and drapery, are in the Lazienki Palace, Warsaw—to which Caffiéri provided a number of objects between 1766 and 1768.

It is worth noting that the museum also possesses a signed wall clock in the rococo style made by Philippe's father Jacques Caffiéri. The wall lights were bought by the museum from the London dealer Alexander and Berendt, who had acquired them at a Paris auction earlier in 1978 (Palais d'Orsay, 1978, April 6, Lot. 52).



Figure 7. Wall Light, one of a set of four. By Philippe Caffiéri. French (Paris), c. 1765.



Figure 8. Pair of Pot Pourri Vases. French (Sèvres), 1760.

8. A pair of porcelain pot-pourri vases and bulb containers
 French (Sèvres); 1760
 Height: 11¾"; Width: 6½"; Depth: 5¾".
 Acc. no. 78.DE.358
 (The vases are exhibited in Gallery 215.)

This pair of Sèvres porcelain vases, known as *vases pots-pourri à fontaines ou dauphin* are painted with three ground colours—pink, green and dark blue (*roze, verd and bleu lapis*). The upper sections are decorated with chinoiserie scenes which may be given to the hand of the eminent Sèvres painter Charles-Nicolas Dodin.

The vases are listed in the Sèvres Day Book on May 30th, 1760, together with a *vase vaisseau à mât* (a boat-

shaped pot-pourri vase) and a pair of *vases à bobèches* (vases bearing sockets for candles) which were also painted with three ground colours and decorated with chinoiserie scenes. The garniture was bought for 2,400 *livres* (the vase *pot-pourri à fontaines* cost 960 *livres*), but the name of the purchaser is not given.

The garniture reappears in the inventory of Madame de Pompadour's possessions, drawn up after her death in 1764. They stood in her *chambre du lit* at the Hôtel de Pompadour (now the Palais d'Elysée). They are one of the few things that can be identified in this inventory, as most of the descriptions are extremely brief.

The *vaisseau* from the garniture is now in the Parisian

Figure 9. Mounted Pot. Ceramic: Chinese, c. 1700.
Gilt-bronze mounts: French (Paris), c. 1760.



collection of René Grog, but the *vases à bobèches* have disappeared. Very few *pots-pourri à fontaines* were made at the Sèvres manufactory, and today only three others are known to exist. One, painted green and blue, is in the British Royal Collections, while a pair, painted green and pink, belongs to the Duke of Buccleuch. All three have suffered somewhat by the addition in the nineteenth century of gilt-bronze bases and dolphins, lids, and porcelain flowers.

Known as the "Dudley vases," these pieces have passed through the collections of the Duchess of Bedford, William Goding, and the Earl of Dudley. They were acquired by the museum from the Memorial Sloane

Kettering Cancer Center—where they had been placed by an anonymous benefactor who had obtained them from the Antique Porcelain Company, New York.

9. *Mounted blanc-de-chine ceramic vase*

Chinese and French; c. 1760.

Height: 9⁷/₈"; Width: 7³/₈"; Depth: 6¹/₂".

Acc. no. 78.DE.359

(The pot is exhibited in the neoclassical panelled room, Gallery 218.)

The Chinese blanc-de-chine ceramic pot once took the form of a tea-pot, with spout and handle, the lid decorated with a small foo-dog. These elements were removed



Figure 10. Floor, one of four quarters. German, c. 1720.

by a Parisian *bronzier* in about 1760 and the object transformed to its present appearance by the addition of gilt-bronze mounts. An identical but complete blanc-de-chine teapot is in the British Museum, London.

The museum acquired the pot in 1978 from Partridge, London, who had bought it earlier that year at the Henry Ford II sale (Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, February 25, Lot. 61).

10. Marquetry floor

South German, c. 1720.

Length: 10' 11"; Width: 9' 11".

Acc. no. 78.DH.360

(The floor is not at present exhibited.)

The provenance of this floor is unknown, but it must

once have formed part of the decorations of an elegant *salon* or bedroom of a German *schloss*. Very few such European floors exist today and those that remain are usually still *in situ*. The condition of the floor is a little worn, but here and there the original scorching and engraving can still be seen. It formerly belonged to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. They sold it some years ago to Dalva Brothers, New York, from whom the museum acquired it.

11. Cabinet

French (Paris); c. 1785.

Height: 3' 1/4"; Width: 5' 4 7/8"; Depth: 2' 1/2".

Acc. no. 78.DA.361

This imposing cabinet bears the stamp of Guillaume



Figure 11. Cabinet. Stamped by Guillaume Beneman. French (Paris), c. 1785.



Figure 11a. Detail of Figure 11, *pietre dure* plaque.



Figure 11b. Detail of Figure 11, *pietre dure* plaque.



Figure 12. Bed Hangings. French (Paris), c. 1720. (Photograph dates from 1930s).

Beneman, the last royal cabinetmaker to Louis XVI. The cabinet is set with *pietre dure* plaques, the one in the centre being of late seventeenth century date, while those on either side probably date from the second half of the eighteenth century and are perhaps based on designs by Giuseppe Casanova. The gilt-bronze crossed *L*'s combined with the Cockerel of France set into the frieze of the cabinet indicate royal ownership, and the cabinet is reputed to have been made for the bedroom of Louis XVI at the Château of Saint Cloud. However it does not bear any royal inventory marks, nor has it yet been discovered in the royal accounts.

The cabinet was sold by Lord Powis of Powis Castle, Wales in 1962 (Sothebys, 1962, May 11, Lot 262). It was then acquired by John Allnat. His widow sold the cabinet in 1974 (Sothebys, 1974, June 21, Lot. 109). It was bought at that sale by Aveline of Paris from whom the museum acquired it in 1978.

12. *Hangings for a bed*

French; c. 1720

Height: 13' 7¾"; Width: 5' 11½"; Length: 6' 1".

Acc. no. 79.DH.3

(The bed is not at present on display.)

This complete set of bed hangings for a 'tester' bed date from around 1720. They are of bright yellow satin, corded with red, green, blue, and silver, with small panels of red and green chenille. The curtains are decorated with large and small applied panels of blue and silver "bizarre" damask, while the bed head is embroidered with a basket of flowers in silks of many colours. The bed is in a remarkable state of preservation.

It is reputed to have once stood in the Château de Montbrillon, but this has not yet been substantiated. The hangings were acquired in 1979 from Gerald Paget, New York.

13. *Pair of torchères.*

German; c. 1735

Height: 7' 1".

Acc. No. 79.DH.5

(The torchères are not at present on display.)

This large pair of carved and gilded wood *torchères* would seem to have been part of a set of eight that were in the Neues Palais at Potsdam at the end of the nineteenth century. They were sold from the Palace in 1925,



Figure 13. One of a pair of *Torchères*. Possibly after designs by François de Cuvilliers. German (Munich), c. 1735.



Figure 14. Clock. Attributed to Jean-Pierre Latz. French (Paris), c. 1750.



Figure 15. Corner Cupboard, one of a pair. Attributed to Charles Cressent. French (Paris), c. 1755.

and four from the set are now at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, on loan from the Dutch royal family. Two more are in a private collection in Paris.

They are thought to have been carved after designs by François de Cuvilliés (1698–1768), the architect to the Elector of Bavaria. He designed the Residenz in Munich and the Amalienberg at Nymphenberg. Of massive size, they were probably originally used to support candelabra for a ballroom or a large *salon*.

The acquisition of German furniture by the museum is not a totally new departure, as Mr. Getty acquired in 1972 a pair of South German commodes, also executed after designs by Cuvilliés.

The *torchères* were acquired by the museum from Fabius Frères in Paris, 1979.

14. *Mantel clock.*

French (Paris); c. 1750

Height: 1' 6½"; Width: 1' ½".

Acc. no. 79.DH.4

(The clock is on display on the mantelpiece of the rococo panelled room, Gallery 213.)

The small gilt-bronze clock would seem to be unique. The maker of the fanciful case in the form of a tree is not known, but it is attributed, somewhat loosely, to Jean-Pierre Latz (c. 1691–1754). In the inventories drawn up of the contents of Latz's workshops in 1754 and 1756, we find *un palmier en pendule aussi de fonte de cuivre*. . . . and . . . *un palmier de fonte de cuivre d'environ six pieds d'hauteur disposé à recevoir une pendule*. . . . While the latter clock was about six feet high, it is con-

ceivable that the former could have been a smaller model for a mantelpiece. The exuberance of the design and the quality of the chasing also point to the hand of Latz.

The movement is by Julien Le Roy (1686–1759). He was clockmaker to the King and had lodgings in the Palais du Louvre. Le Roy was, in this period, the leading clockmaker in Paris and wrote a number of scholarly publications.

The clock was acquired in 1979 from Kugel of Paris.

15. *Pair of corner cabinets.*

French (Paris); c. 1755

Height: 6' 3¼"; Length: 12' 9".

Acc. no. 79.DA.2

(The cabinets are not at present on display.)

These large curved corner cabinets are attributed with some certainty to the *ébéniste* Charles Cressent (1685–1768). Each of the four main doors is set with a large gilt-bronze mount showing children representing the liberal arts—painting, sculpture, literature, music, astronomy, and geography. These mounts are also found decorating the doors of a pair of armoires recently acquired by the Musée du Louvre. All four pieces exhibit many close similarities to a pair of medal cabinets, now at the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, that are listed in a sale catalogue compiled by Cressent of his works in 1757. The Getty museum already possesses a documented commode by Charles Cressent and three gilt-bronze clocks that are attributed to him.

The cabinets were acquired in 1979 from Baron Guy de Rothschild, Paris.

*Curator of Decorative Arts
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu*

A Newly Discovered Piece of Royal Sèvres Porcelain

Barry L. Shifman

In 1938 J. Paul Getty purchased a Sèvres porcelain *écuelle*, cover, and plate from the Mortimer Schiff sale (Fig. 1).¹ In the sale catalogue, the *écuelle* was described as bearing the monogram of Marie Leczinska, the wife of Louis XV. The Sèvres manufactory sale records show that the *écuelle* was in fact made for Madame Louise, the youngest daughter of Louis XV.² It has been stored in a pantry cupboard at Mr. Getty's ranch in Malibu since 1938, and was only recently discovered and properly identified.

The bowl has interlaced double handles decorated with gilding. The handle of the cover is formed of a laurel branch, the leaves painted in shades of green, with gilded berries. The shape of this *écuelle*, with the double handles and laurel branch cover handle, is very common.³ Painted on the Getty *écuelle*, cover, and plate are four reserves with a dark blue ground decorated with a gilt trellis containing reserved white spots and gold dots. They are surrounded by scrolls painted with thickly applied gilding. The gilding, highlighted with broad

strokes of pink paint, is elaborately tooled in a variety of patterns. Between the blue reserves are two berried laurel wreaths tied at the top with pink bows. Each wreath is centered with a pink rosette enclosed by double gold bands. The outline of the plate is waved. At its center is a gilt and polychromed rosette formed by eight gilt cartouches decorated with trellis. The four outer cartouches, flanked on each side by crossed C-scrolls painted with pink vines, are each centered with a blue trellis decorated with red and gold dots. The inner cartouches are set on a pink rosette and decorated with gilt trellis on a blue ground, set with white and gold dots.

The cover and plate of the *écuelle* are also decorated with the arms of an unmarried Daughter of France and a monogram. The arms are formed of a blue diamond outlined on three sides in black and painted with three gold *fleurs de lis*. A berried laurel wreath, interrupted at the top by a yellow crown painted with white and colored jewels, surrounds the arms (Fig. 2). On the other side of the cover and plate, painted in gold, is the letter

I would like to thank Gillian Wilson, Curator of Decorative Arts, for encouraging me to write this article, and for her helpful comments on the editing of the manuscript.

1. Christie's, June 22, 1938, lot. 25. Inv. no. 78.DE.65. H. 5 in., (12.7 cm.), W. 7¾ in., (19.7 cm.), Diam. of plate. 8¼ in. (21 cm.).

2. This information was discovered by Gillian Wilson.

3. The following *écuelles* are of the same model as the Getty bowl.

a. Vincennes porcelain. This is decorated similarly to the Getty bowl in that it also has the middle section painted with four reserves with a gilded trellis. (Illustrated and described in the Campbell Museum Collection, Camden, New Jersey, 1969, fig. 39.).

b. Bleu-ground, painted with scrolls and flowers, marked with the date letter for 1764 and the symbol for Fallot. Illustrated and described in Pierre Verlet, Serge Grandjean and Marcelle Brunet, *Sèvres*, Paris, 1953, p. 211, pl. 53.

c. Marble rose and violet ground, painted with reserves deco-

rated with fruit and flowers, marked with the date letter for 1761 and the symbol for Jean-René Dubois. Illustrated in Perry T. Rathbone, *The Forsyth Wickes Collection*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1968, p. 32.

d. White ground with *oeil-de-perdrix* pattern, painted with floral wreaths and swagged garlands, marked with the date letter for 1772 and the symbol for Mereau (the catalogue does not distinguish between *l'aine* and *jeune*). The plate of this *écuelle* is larger than that of the Getty bowl. The piece is illustrated and described in the catalogue of Sèvres porcelain exhibited at the Hetjens-Museum, Düsseldorf, October 5–November 2, 1975, p. 50, pl. 4.

e. White ground, painted with *oeil-de-perdrix* borders decorated with a gilt trellis and floral garlands, no date letter, marked with the symbol for Le Guay. The collection of Henry Ford II, sold Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, February 25, 1978, lot. 45.



Figure 1. *Écuille* (Sèvres). Delivered to Madame Louise in 1764.

M over two interlaced L's, in the center of a diamond form identical to that of the arms. A berried laurel wreath, interrupted at the top with a garland of pink flowers, surrounds the monogram (Fig. 3).

Painted on the underside of the *écuelle* and plate are the crossed L's of the Sèvres manufactory with the date

letter L in the center for 1764, the letter S above, the symbol for the painter Pierre-Antoine Mereau *l'ainé* (sometimes spelt Merault or Mereaud), and with the incised letters DU only on the *écuelle* (Fig. 4).⁴ Mereau was active at the Sèvres manufactory from 1754 to 1791, and he is known to have painted a number of coats-of-

4. The letters DU are thought to be for the *tourneur* Gilbert-François Duponchelle (1712–1768). See Svend Eriksen, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Sèvres Porcelain*, Fribourg, 1968, pp. 206–207 for additional pieces of porcelain marked with these letters.

5. For a further discussion of this artist see: Eriksen, *op. cit.*, pp. 331–332.

6. Pierre Verlet, "Notes on Eighteenth Century French *Objets d'art*,"

The Art Quarterly, 1968, pp. 353–381, fig. 12–13. I would like to thank Svend Eriksen for bringing this article to my attention.

7. A Sèvres sugar box (sold Sotheby's London, June 6, 1978, lot. 205) has similar decoration to that on the Getty *écuelle*. The sale catalogue states that the box is date marked for 1766 and that it bears the symbol for the painter Mereau *jeune*.



Figure 2. Detail showing the monogram ML for Madame Louise painted on the lid and plate of the *écuelle*.

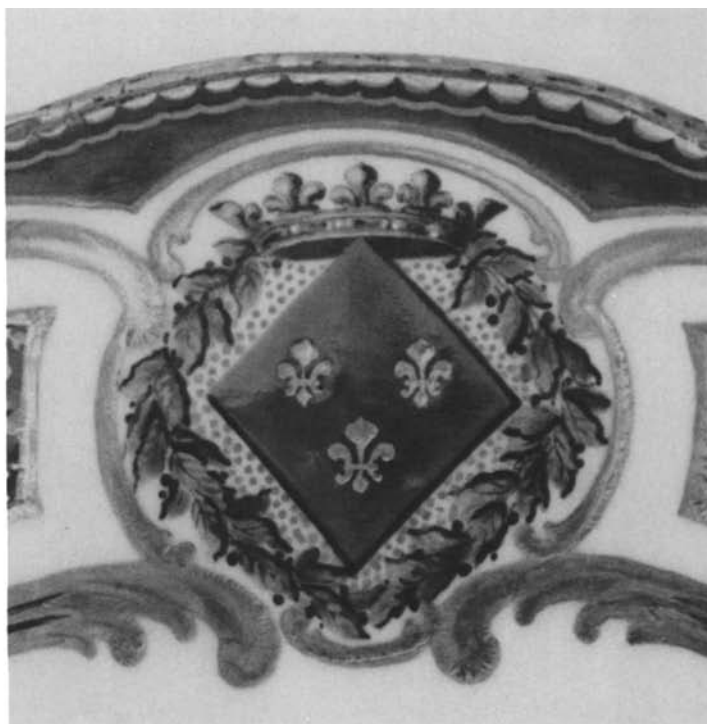


Figure 3. Detail showing the marks of an unmarried Daughter of France painted on the lid and plate of the *écuelle*.

arms on porcelain ordered for “Mesdames,” the daughters of Louis XV.⁵ There is a coffee pot in the collections at the Dubouché Museum at Limoges made for Madame Victoire. The pot, painted by an unknown artist, bears the coat-of-arms of a princess of France and was delivered in 1786 to one of the royal households.⁶

The Sèvres sale records show that Madame Louise received on the 24th of February 1764, “l’*Écuelle et Platteau frize Armoriée*” for 240 livres (Fig. 5). This *écuelle* is the only piece of porcelain she ordered that year. Because the *écuelle* in the possession of the J. Paul Getty Museum bears the date letter L for 1764, the monogram of Madame Louise, the arms of an unmarried Daughter of France, and its decoration appears to be almost unique,⁷ we can definitely say that the Getty bowl is the one delivered to the Château de Versailles for the personal use of Madame Louise.

Two *cuvette mahons* (sold Sotheby Parke-Bernet, December 5th, 1974, Lot. 70) with white grounds, painted with trellis patterns with blue, scarlet and aubergine, one date marked for 1760, the other for 1776. Both bear the painter’s symbol for Meraud.

A *trembleuse* cup and saucer (sold Christies, London, March 25th, 1968, Lot. 60) bears extremely similar decoration and was painted by Meraud in the same year, 1764.

The ground color of this bowl, a variant of *bleu nouveau* (also known as *bleu-du-roi*), is rare. According to Eriksen,⁸ the color is slightly paler than *bleu nouveau*. This unusual color would not seem to be the result of a chance firing or accident, for it is the ground color of a dinner service delivered to Prince Starhemberg in 1767. There were a number of additional pieces made about ten years later, and this could only have been done if there was an exact recipe for the color. A few examples of Sèvres porcelain are known that have this color.⁹

A piece of porcelain painted with a monogram of the owner is usually part of a complete service.¹⁰ The Getty *écuelle* is rare in that, decorated with a monogram, it is a single item and does not appear to have been part of a larger service. This must indicate that Madame Louise ordered the *écuelle* to fulfill a specific function.

Madame Louise, affectionately known by her father

8. Eriksen, op. cit., p. 246.

9. Ibid.

10. An example of this is the “Prince de Rohan” dessert service in the Wrightsman collection. See Carl C. Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collection*: vol. IV: *Porcelain*, New York, 1970, no. 109, pp. 261–271.

Monsieur Galle, Bronziers et Doreur

Michael Shapiro

PART I: GALLE

The recent discovery of a group of documents in the Archives Nationales in Paris has brought us closer to penetrating the mystery surrounding the activities of the *doreur* Galle.¹ The documents consist of correspondence between Monsieur Galle and officers of the Garde Meuble de la Couronne of Louis XVIII, as well as exchanges amongst the officials themselves. They date from July 24 to October 2, 1820. Revealed is a rather dramatic scene, with Monsieur Galle, "Fabricant de Bronzes et Dorures," offering the merchandise that he created for the Paris Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française of 1819 to the Crown. Galle states in his earliest plea to the Duc de Richelieu, dated July 24, 1820,² that the goods are "la cause de la ruine de ma fabrique et de ma famille." He proceeds to offer them to the King at between 20,000 and 25,000 francs, "cette somme modique pour le Gouvernement." In a similar letter³ to the Comte de Pradel⁴ of the same date, Galle further suggests that the objects of gilt bronze that he offers, "sont dignes de S.M. et peuvent orner des Palais, déjà meublés de dorures sorties de mes ateliers, ou servir de cadeaux qui attesteraient notre supériorité sur l'étranger dans ce genre d'Industrie nationale." Mentioned also in the communication is "Le Duc Decase (sic)," who had commissioned a *surtout de table*, or centerpiece, from Galle.⁵ It is because of this commission, he claims, that

he was able to postpone for a while his present request for help from the Garde Meuble. Apparently totally unsold, the objects made for the exposition remained in his Paris shop at the corner of rue Colbert and rue Vivienne. In an official "rapport" from the Ministère de la Maison du Roi of September 26, 1820, Galle is presented with the unfortunate response that his stock "ne présentent ni avantage ni utilité pour la Gardemeuble." As a result of these papers, it is possible to offer some further substance to a name about which little has previously been known.

Several eighteenth century references to a Monsieur Galle have long been known, associating the *doreur* with important royal commissions. Most noteworthy is Galle's connection with the famous *bureau-plat* by Guillaume Beneman now in the James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor. Made in 1786, it was intended as the companion piece to the Bureau du Roi of Louis XV begun by Jean-François Oeben and completed after his death in 1763 by Jean-Henri Riesener. The writing table is described by its designer, Jean Hauré, *fournisseur de la Cour*, in a memorandum recently published by Geoffrey de Bellaigue in his catalogue of the James A. de Rothschild collection.⁶ Galle's payment for his work and materials as *doreur d'or moulu* was 1200 livres, a considerable percentage of the total cost of the desk, 5716 livres.

1. I am most grateful to David Cohen for sharing the documentation published in Part III. It was in the course of compiling new information on the bronzeworker Pierre-Philippe Thomire that Cohen came upon these papers so crucial in piecing together a more complete biography of Monsieur Galle. Also, I am most thankful to Gillian Wilson, Curator of the Department of Decorative Arts, for presenting me with the opportunity of compiling this newly surfaced material. My thanks also go to Patrice Pinaquy, Conservator of Decorative Arts, and Diana Weaver, for their help in deciphering the often unclear manuscripts.

2. document ii.

3. document i.

4. Comte Jules-Jean-Baptiste-François de Pradel (c. 1782–1857), Le Directeur Général du Ministère de la Maison du Roi, otherwise "Le Directeur Général ayant le Portefeuille."

5. Duc Elie Decazes (1780–1861) was Louis XVIII's *premier ministre*.

6. De Bellaigue, G. *Furniture, Clocks, and Gilt Bronzes: The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor*. 1974: pp. 458–465 (volume 2).



Figure 1. Clock. Made by Galle probably for the Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française of 1806. Whereabouts unknown. Photo courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum.

Jennifer Montagu⁷ records in detail a pair of firedogs made in 1786 for the Salon de la Paix at Versailles. Among the collaborators was the *sculpteur* Louis-Simon Boizot (1743–1809), the *fondeur* Pierre-Auguste Forestier (1755–1835), the *ciseleur* Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1843), and Monsieur Galle, who received 1078 livres, much more than any of the other craftsmen, for his work as *doreur*.

In the same year Galle collaborated once again with

Beneman under Hauré's direction on a *secrétaire* now in the Wrightsman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.⁸ Made for Louis XV's *cabinet-intérieur* at the Palais de Compiègne, Galle was paid 616 livres for his work.

In the Wallace Collection is another *secrétaire* which passed through the hands of Beneman and Galle.⁹ The commission was for repairs to be carried out on the desk made in 1780 by Riesener for Versailles. Hauré's order came in 1788 and included work done by the *marbrier* Jean-Pierre Lanfant (*maître* 1785). Galle's fee amounted to 460 livres.

In the same year M. Galle is recorded as working for Marie Antoinette at the Château de Saint Cloud with the *bronzier* Louis Gabriel Felois (active c. 1777). A set of four wall lights, now in the Wallace Collection, were gilded by Galle, for which he was paid 2000 livres.¹⁰

The earliest post-Revolutionary reference to Galle is published by Denise Ledoux-Lebard in her book *Le Grand Trianon*.^{10a} Cited on p. 63 is a *soumission* placed to Galle on 17 *Prairial an XIII* (June 6, 1805) for a fender for the bedroom of Madame Laetitia, Napoleon's mother, in the Grand Trianon. A chandelier was also ordered on that day (p. 166). Ledoux-Lebard illustrates and discusses thirty-six objects or pairs of objects supplied by Galle between 1805 and 1810.

Another reference to Galle appears in Achille de Colmont's *Histoire des Expositions des Produits de l'Industrie Française*.¹¹ Galle was awarded the *médaille de bronze* for his skills as a chaser of bronze exhibited at the *Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française* of 1806.

Another mention of a Monsieur Galle is made in the publication *Les Bronzes du Mobilier National*.¹² Plate 38, no. 2 illustrates a clock entitled "L'Oubli du Temps" in the Empire style (Fig. 1). The descriptive commentary on p. 17 is followed by this note:

"GALLE, fabricant de bronzes, rue Vivienne, presenta cette pendule à l'Exposition industrielle de 1807."

7. Montagu, J. *Bronzes*. New York, 1963.

8. Watson, F. J. B. *The Wrightsman Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1966: pp. 195–201 (volume I).

9. Watson, F. J. B. *Wallace Collection Catalogues (Furniture)*. London, 1956: pp. 149–153, ill. plate 56.

10. *Idem.*, pp. 196–198, ill. plate 115.

10a. Ledoux-Lebard, Denise. *Le Grand Trianon. Meubles et Objets D'Art*. Paris, 1975.

11. Colmont, Achille de. *Histoire des Expositions des Produits de l'Industrie Française*. Paris, 1911, p. 36.

12. Dumonthier, Ernest. *Les Bronzes du Mobilier National*. Paris, 1911.

13. document xvi: The list, which includes the description of the chandelier and is dated September 27, 1820, was sent by M. Galle to the Garde Meuble. Thirty-five objects or groups of objects are described with several variations given and their respective prices. The

I am unfamiliar with an "Exposition industrielle" that took place in 1807 and am led to assume that this is an oversight on Dumonthier's part. In February of 1806, Napoleon decreed that a national exposition, celebrating the French victories at Austerlitz, would take place on the Esplanade des Invalides. The next date set for a national exposition was May 1, 1809. This, however, never materialized due to the political and military unrest which was affecting the country, and the next large-scale display was not to be staged until 1819.

It is in this year that we become re-acquainted with Galle's activities. From de Colmont and Dumonthier we learn of his receipt in 1819 of the *médaille d'argent* for his contributions made to the Exposition. In addition, from the newly uncovered papers, we are aware of a chandelier that Galle exhibited in this Exposition which he valued at the comparatively high sum of 3000 francs. Four models are known by this author which accord with the description in the inventory presented in 1820 to the Garde Meuble.¹³ One of these is housed in the J. Paul Getty Museum and will be considered in the second part of this article.

Finally, Galle's contribution to the Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française of 1823 won him the *médaille d'or* (as will be discussed later in this article).¹⁴

The work of the *doreur de bronze* was undoubtedly the most hazardous of tasks in the creation of a piece of furniture. The mercury process, a sophisticated and costly operation with satisfactory long-lasting results, was employed almost invariably on more important commissions. A mixture of gold and mercury was applied to the prepared bronze surface. As the mercury evaporated at a lower temperature than the gold when fired (at approximately 450 C. degrees), the latter alone remained. The noxious fumes released in inadequate conditions of ventilation in the *ateliers* made it a lethal operation for the *doreur*: records often indicate the short life spans of these artisans. In the light of this, it has been viewed with suspicion that Galle's career as a *doreur* lasted as long as

the extant documents seem to indicate. The earliest mention of Galle's activities is in 1786, with his work on the Waddesdon *bureau-plat*; the latest is 37 years later with his contribution to the Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française of 1823. In attempting to establish a birthdate for Galle, it is first necessary to consider the years which he would have spent developing his skill—the obligatory apprenticeships and stringent guild examinations—to the high standards which enabled him to collaborate with Beneman, court *ébéniste*, by 1786. If one suggests that he was 35 years old when he was commissioned for the Waddesdon *bureau-plat*, this would place Galle's birthdate at 1751, making him 72 years old when he received the *médaille d'or* in 1823. It is highly unlikely that a *doreur* would have lived this long.

Substantiating this theory is a letter which Galle sent to the Baron Thierry de Ville d'Avray, an *intendant* in the Garde Meuble, on September 10, 1820, in his continuing plea for aid.¹⁵ Galle again presents his precarious situation, in this particular instance in the hopes of winning an audience with the Baron. He writes

"... et je viens, Monsieur Le Baron, vous prier de m'être favorable et pour participer à une bonne oeuvre et pour perpétuer dans ma famille, le souvenir qu'elle conserve de la protection toute particulière, que Monsieur Votre père, accordait autrefois au mien, pour tous les travaux de dorure qui se faisaient alors dans les palais du Roi."

A Monsieur Galle, *doreur*, was again dependent on the direction of a Thierry de Ville d'Avray, who was functioning in a similar role as his father when he was approached by the elder Galle. From this document we are able to attribute the eighteenth century work in the neoclassical style of Galle *l'ainé* and the nineteenth century work in the Empire style to Galle *le jeune*.

In January of 1819, at the suggestion of his most trusted officer, Duc Elie Decazes, Louis XVIII issued an ordinance establishing a system for the continuation of the expositions. Viewing this as an attempt at encourag-

accounts are approximately a paragraph in length ending in the various sizes. To the right of this are two columns headed "Prix du magasin" and "Diminution en faveur d'un achat ou d'une commande considérable," the latter price often indicating a substantial reduction.

14. It is interesting to note the references made to Pierre-Philippe Thomire, the recipient of the *médaille d'or* for the years 1806, 1819, 1823, and *La Décoration de la Légion d'Honneur* in 1834. De Colmont writes (pp. 259–260): "Le jury de 1834 . . . faisant remarquer que, dès

1806, M. Thomire avait obtenu cette récompense et qu'il était glorieux de rester, pendant vingt-huit ans à la tête d'une industrie magnifique."

15. Document xi. This, as well as two other documents (nos. viii and ix), are signed with Galle's honor "Chevalier de l'ordre Royal de la Légion d'honneur." It is not presently known when Galle received this award.

16. *La Grande Encyclopédie, Inventaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts*, vol. 16: "EXPOSITION," p. 971, Paris, 1886–1902(?).

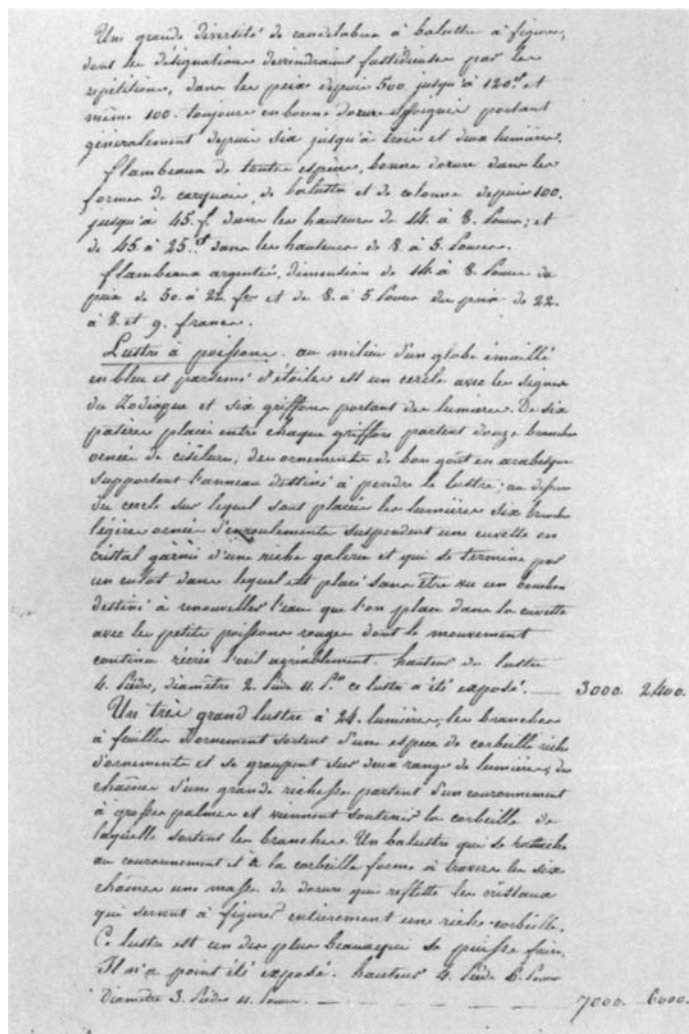


Figure 2. Photograph of manuscript presented to the Garde Meuble de la Couronne by Galle in 1819. In the center is description of the chandelier *Lustre à poisson*.

17. De Colmont divides the contributors to the exposition into twenty-five separate classes. These include Tissues, Cuirs et peaux, Orfèvrerie/argenterie, Machines, Instruments de musique, Produits alimentaires, Poteries et porcelaines, Ebénisterie, and Décors d'architecture.

18. Documents i, viii, ix, xvi? are correspondences from Galle to the comte de Pradel.

19. De Colmont explains the jury's criteria: "Ces jury . . . ne devaient admettre que les objets qui leur paraîtraient réunir une bonne fabrication à une grande utilité. Ils devaient surtout s'attacher aux objets qui . . . présenteraient ainsi un intérêt particulier et caractériseraient les localités." What a product cost to reproduce and/or market was also given consideration.

ing the arts on all levels, the King proclaimed that the displays "auraient lieu à des intervalles qui ne dépasseraient pas quatre années."¹⁶ Seven months later, on August 25, 1819, the doors of the exhibition at the Palais du Louvre were opened to the public. The 1,662 exposants included scientists, engineers, and artisans representing every conceivable facet of nineteenth century French decorative arts from all corners of France.¹⁷ A jury awarded over 400 medals in gold, silver, and bronze to exhibitors for superior achievements in their fields. On the morning of August 25, the comte de Pradel, to whom Galle's first pleas of 1820 were addressed,¹⁸ made the presentations on behalf of the King.¹⁹

The medals were struck in twelve designs, each commemorating an important event which took place either during the time of Louis XVI or the present reign. In the *Journal des Débats*²⁰ of the opening day, we find detailed descriptions of ten of the twelve medals. The symbolic depictions include "Avènement et mort de Louis XVII" [sic] (21 janvier 1793); "Débarquement du Roi en France" (24 avril 1814); and "Les reliques des trois races de Rois rendues à la sépulture" (21 janvier 1817). The latter is described as with the figure of Religion resting on a cinerary urn in the form of a half column with the figure of France placing upon it three crowns of flowers. Two "Génies funèbres" complete the composition. The account continues in the *Journal* with the mention of the various inscriptions on the medal and terminates in "Graveur: M. Gall." The most obvious discrepancy here is the spelling of the surname; the other would be the given title "graveur." A misspelling of a name was not an unusual occurrence, especially in this case, when the name was not of French origin, but rather Netherlandish. The more phonetical spelling of "Gall" would seem

20. *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, Paris. Mercredi, 25 août, 1819, p. 2.

21. The first page of Galle's list of merchandise presented to the Garde Meuble has his letterhead identifying Galle in this way.

22. De Colmont, p. 259.

23. Bought from Kraemer & Cie. in early 1973. It was sold anonymously in Paris at the Hôtel Drouot as lot no. 83 on February 7, 1972.

24. The inaugural flight of the Montgolfier Brothers had a substantial effect on the French. The balloonists first launched their craft successfully from the grounds of Versailles in September of 1783 before Louis XVI, various notables, and hundreds of curious spectators. It was 57 feet high and carried in its suspended wicker basket not its inventors, but rather a sheep, a rooster, and a duck, all of which landed

to be a likely alternative. It is also possible that Galle acted as *graveur*, or engraver, in this case: the rigid guild restrictions of the eighteenth century had all but disappeared by this time. With this in mind, as well as the fact that he owned a highly reputable shop and was a superior contributor to the Parisian expositions, it is probable that Galle was a master of most of the skills associated with metalwork as well as with gilding. His letterhead identifies him as "Fabricant de Bronzes et Dorures."²¹ It might even be that the multifaceted Galle designed, cast, engraved, and finished his medals for the exposition of 1819, but was cited only as *graveur* in the *Journal* like the other artisans.

The exposition of 1823, which drew a comparable number of exhibitors as the one in 1819, is the last event for which we have records of Galle's participation. It is perhaps due to his success in receiving one of the 41 *médailles d'or* that de Colmont credits Galle with a more detailed dedication:

"M. Galle, de Paris, fut jugé digne de la médaille d'or en 1823, pour avoir exposé deux figures faisant pendants, le *Gladiateur* et un *Achille*, exécutées en bronze avec beaucoup de pureté; une très-belle pendule en jaspe fleuri, et un vase orné de bronzes dorés, dont la monture est appliquée par des agrafes qui ne percent le vase."²²

It is reasonable to assume that Galle survived his financial crisis of 1820. In three years' time he was again exhibiting at the Paris exposition, this time, as we have seen, securing the highest honors. Were his pleas to the Garde Meuble more drama than actuality? Perhaps this will be answered one day as well as many other questions when additional contemporary documentation comes to light. Until then we must make do with these few facts about this fine artisan for whom we have only a surname.

safely eight minutes later. The mission was regarded as a great success and was treated by the public with some amazement, in much the same way as the public responded to the astronauts and the first Earth orbit. And as a man is inspired by superlative achievement, it often has a considerable influence on design and fashion. This was the case with the Montgolfier incident. Balloons à la Montgolfier began to appear on textiles, clocks, and fashions as well as in furniture design. An example of the first appeared recently at a sale at Sotheby Parke Bernet, London (December 1, 1978, lot no. 72) as "A pair of embroidered ballooning pictures."

Perhaps the best known of these instances appears in furniture design. Shortly after the first launching, a set of twelve chairs with backs in the shape of balloons were presented to the brothers by the city of Paris. The chairs were made by the menuisier Jean-Baptiste-

PART II: THE LUSTRE À POISSON

In the spring of 1973 Mr. Getty acquired an unusual French chandelier for the museum from a Parisian dealer.²³ Although of early nineteenth century date and in the Empire style, the chandelier, until recently, was traditionally believed to have been a tribute to the late eighteenth century balloonists, the Montgolfier brothers.²⁴ With the newly surfaced Galle documents, it now appears to have had a totally different purpose and theme. The model's entry in Galle's inventory presented to the Garde Meuble in September of 1820 reads (Fig. 2):

"Lustre à poisson. au milieu d'un globe émaillé en bleu et parsemé d'étoiles est un cercle avec les signes du zodiaque et six griffons portant des lumières. De six patères placés entre chaque griffon partent douze branches ornées de ciselure; des ornements de bon goût en arabesque supportent l'anneau destiné à pendre le lustre; au dessous du cercle sur lequel sont placées les lumières six branches légères ornées d'enroulements suspendent une cuvette en cristal garnie d'une riche galerie et qui se termine par un culot dans lequel est placé sans être vu un bouchon destiné à renouveler l'eau que l'on place dans la cuvette avec les petits poissons rouges dont le mouvement continu récréé l'oeil agréablement. hauteur du lustre 4. Pieds, diamètre 2. Pieds 11 P^o. ce lustre a été exposé.

..... 3000. 2400.²⁵

The description, in its every detail, accords with the Getty chandelier (Figs. 3-5). It does, though, omit any mention of the strands of glass drops which embellish it, and which are believed to be original. Tiny holes are pierced through many of the bronze fittings intended to receive the metal wires which support the drops. These drops are now missing from the pierced feet of the sphinxes.

Three other examples of this type of chandelier are known. On close inspection, the Getty chandelier

Bernard Demay (*maître* 1784) and were presented to the Montgolfiers in 1783 in recognition of their important invention. (See Fig. 10.)

25. Document no. xvi. The description translates:

"On the diameter of a globe, enamelled in blue and sprinkled with stars, is a circle with the signs of the Zodiac and six griffons each carrying lights. From six disks placed between each griffin project twelve chased branches; ornaments of good design in the form of arabesques support the ring suspending the chandelier; below the circle on which are placed the lights, six branches slightly ornamented with scrolls suspend a crystal bowl decorated with an ornamental frieze, at the base of which, although not visible to the eye, is a stopper for changing the water which one places in the bowl with the small goldfish whose continuous movement amuses the eye."





Figure 3. Chandelier (*Lustre à poisson*). An identical model was made by Galle for the Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française of 1819. J. Paul Getty Museum (73.DH.76). Photo: Bullaty Lomeo, New York.

Figure 4. Detail of the chandelier in the Getty Museum.

Figure 5. Detail of the chandelier in the Getty Museum.





Figure 6. Chandelier (*Lustre à poisson*) in the Royal Collection, Stockholm.



Figure 7. Chandelier (*Lustre à poisson*) sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet now in the collections of the British Rail Pension Fund. (Photo: Sotheby).

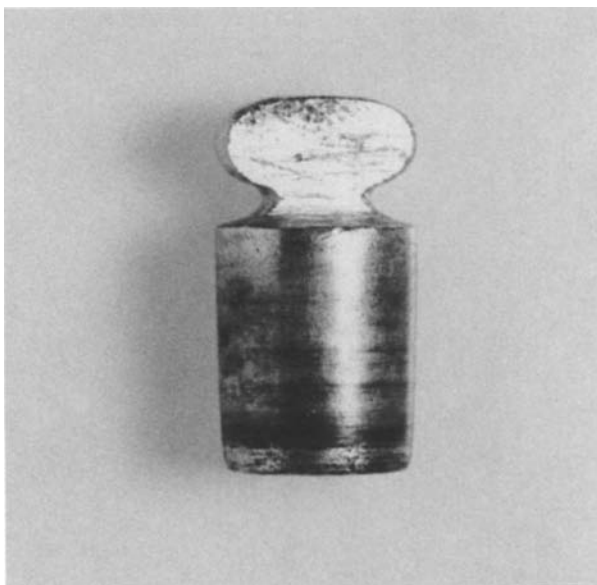


Figure 8. Bouchon or plug from glass bowl of chandelier in the Getty Museum. By removing this, water was emptied from the fish bowl.

appears to be in the best and most original state of this group. Only one of these, in the Swedish royal collection (Fig. 6), in Stockholm, still has its glass drops. This model, which has been wired for electricity, differs in the following ways from the Getty example:

- i. the mount from which the whole is suspended is in the form of foliated scrolls which project from a central shaft (whether this is original or not is impossible to determine at this time);
- ii. there are minor discrepancies in the surface ornamentation of certain bronze fittings which include the branches, the upper and lower bobèches, the strip and lower mounts supporting the glass bowl (not the pierced frieze);
- iii. the shape of the glass bowl;
- iv. it lacks the large glass drop which was once suspended from under the bowl.

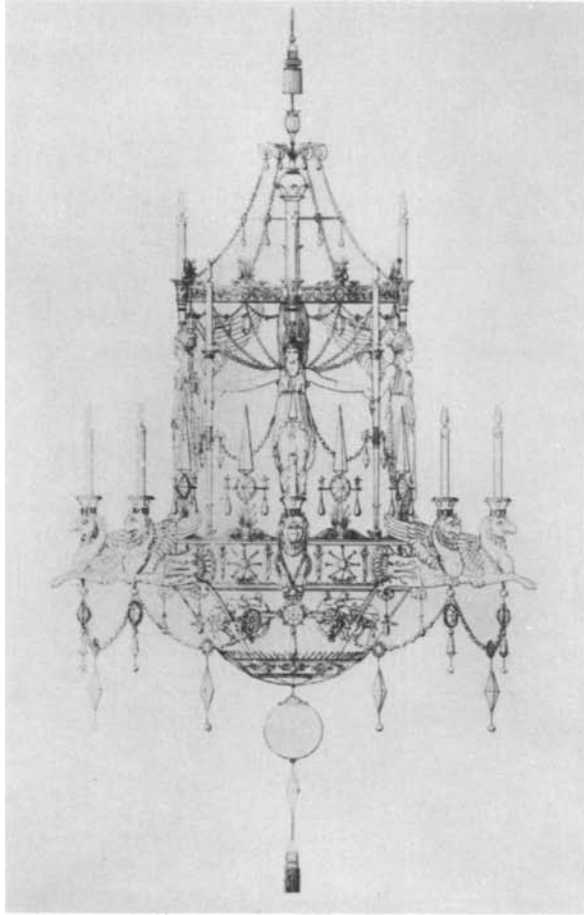


Figure 9. Design for a chandelier by Percier and Fontaine published in 1801 in *Recueil de Décorations Intérieures*.

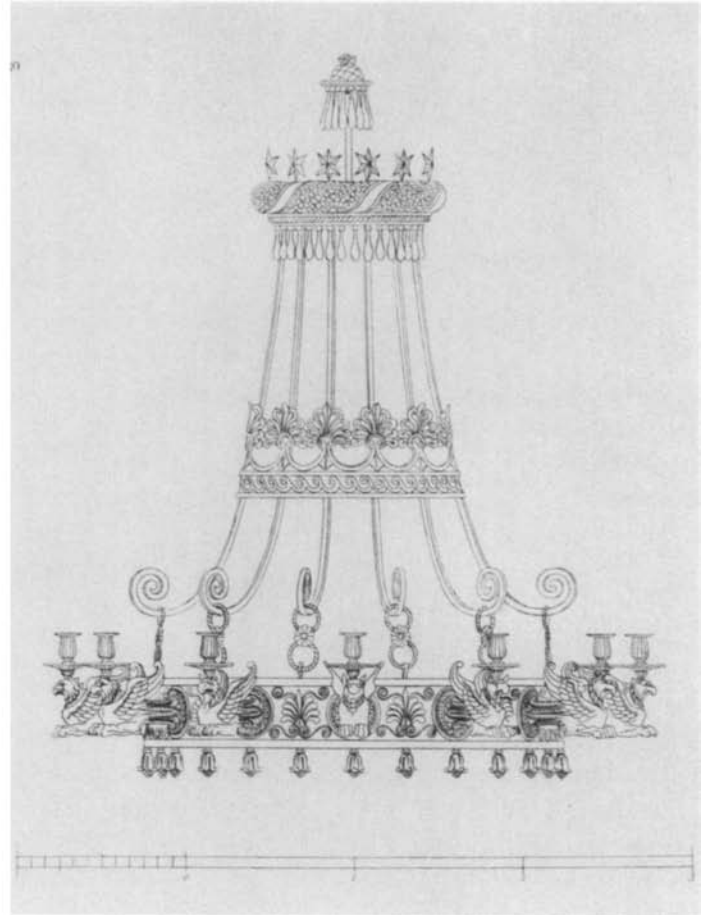


Figure 9a. Design for a chandelier by Thomas Hope published in 1807 in *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*.

Another example of the model was sold at Sotheby Parke Bernet in Monte Carlo in 1977 (Fig. 7).²⁶ Although denuded of its drops, it has more similarities to the Getty piece than the Swedish example. It is suspended from an identical mount. The upper bobèches are identical in design to the Getty's, while the lower bobèches are identical to those on the Swedish example. The decoration of the branches is not alike and seems instead to be closer in design to the chandelier in the Swedish royal collection. The glass bowl appears to be a replacement: although its upper supporting mounts seem to have been re-arranged, they are identical in design to those on the Getty chandelier. From photograph examination, the Monte Carlo piece seems to be in rather poor condition.

The third known example has had the misfortune of being divided into two separate chandeliers.²⁷ The upper

section, with its enamelled globe surrounded by the bronze frieze with its ornamental symbols of the zodiac, has twelve separate lighting branches projecting from six *patères*. It is suspended from a similar support to the Getty's but with a whole new arrangement of glass drops, which hang from a newly incorporated crown to the globe several feet below. The design of the branches and bobèches appears to be identical to that of the Getty example. The lower section of the ill-fated chandelier, supplied with more modern single drops, has had its glass bowl replaced by one in alabaster, with gold stars. From the catalogue photograph, it would appear to have been adapted to electricity.

It seems unlikely that the 1783 launching of the Montgolfier balloon, regardless of its primary impact, would have continued to be translated into design so

26. Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monte Carlo (Monaco), May 3, 1977, lot no. 6. Bought by the British Rail Pension Fund.

27. Palais d'Orsay, Paris, February 15, 1978, lot nos. 34 and 58; from the collection of M. Daniel Brunet.

long after its original flight. Vogues certainly were not as capricious as they are today, when changes occur as rapidly as designers can develop new ideas; but to remain current through the Revolution and the Empire is unlikely. Although the chandelier in outline appears to be imitating a balloon's form, one is not surprised to discover from contemporary documents that this is not the case. Amusingly enough, the bowl was meant to contain lively goldfish "dont le mouvement continu récrée l'oeil," as Galle himself tells us. Rather than an historical statement, what we have here is an extraordinary instance of extreme novelty and perhaps humor incorporated in a functional work of art.

A design for a chandelier created by the partners Percier and Fontaine appears in the 1801 publication of their *oeuvre*, *Recueil de Décorations Intérieures*, plate 12 (Fig. 9).²⁸ The book, the most important of their earlier publishings and which covered a wide spectrum of ideas for both the architect and the decorative artist, dominated the Parisian scene at least through the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. Although only somewhat akin to the Galle design, the band on the Percier and Fontaine chandelier which supports the griffons shows certain obvious affinities. Percier and Fontaine would have been a very likely source of inspiration for Galle although one can presume that he came into contact with many designers working in the new post-Revolutionary style.

Another influential designer was the Englishman Thomas Hope. His book of designs, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*^{28a}, of 1807, became a widespread source book in England and on the continent in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Plate XXX, Hope's design for a chandelier (Fig. 9a), must have been inspired by Percier and Fontaine's design of six years earlier. The relationship between the Hope and Galle chandeliers, though, is much closer; in this case Hope's griffons and their supports suggest a direct influence on Galle.



Figure 10. Chair from a set of twelve made by J.-B.-B. Demay and presented to the Montgolfier Brothers in 1784 by the city of Paris. Photo: from Watson *Louis XVI Furniture*. Formerly in the collection of M. Penard y Fernandez.

28. Percier, Charles and Fontaine, Pierre-François-Leonard. *Recueil de Décorations Intérieures*, Paris, an 9 (1801).

28a. Hope, Thomas, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*. London, 1807. My special thanks to Bill Rieder for suggesting this source.

PART III: DOCUMENTS²⁹

I

(4294)

G^de Meuble

Paris 24 juillet 1820

Monsieur Le Comte

Toutes les marchandises que j'avais fabriquées pour l'Exposition de 1819 étant encore en magasin, et la Grandeur et le prix de ces objets étant un obstacle à la vente, je viens prier Votre Excellence de proposer à S.M. d'en acquérir pour une somme de 20 à 25,000 f. Je regarderais cette acquisition comme un secours qui me serait accordé, et qui rendrait plus précieux la position dans laquelle m'a placé l'établissement même de ces marchandises. Cette situation est si critique qu'il ne me reste d'autre espoir que la réussite de ma demande. Je l'ai retardée autant qu'il m'a été possible et je ne l'eusse pas faite si le surtout de table que j'ai exposé m'eût été acheté par Monsieur le Duc Decase, qui le désirait.

Les objets que j'offre à S.M., tous en bronze doré sont dignes de S.M. et peuvent orner ses Palais, déjà meublés de dorures sorties de mes ateliers, ou servir de cadeaux qui attesteraient notre supériorité sur l'étranger dans ce genre d'Industrie nationale.

Je vous prie, Monsieur La Comte, d'agréer l'assurance de mon profond respect.

S^r GALLE

Fab^t de Bronzes et de Dorures Rue Vivienne n° 9 et rue de Colbert n° 1

II

faire passer à M. de Pradel et en informer

Paris 24 juillet 1820

Monsieur Le Duc

L'exposition de 1819 qui a été pour la France un juste sujet de Gloire, va devenir la cause de la ruine de ma fabrique et de ma famille si le Gouvernement, dont j'ai déjà imploré le secours, se refuse à ma demande.

J'ai sollicité des bontés de S.M. un achat de f. 20 à 25,000 des marchandises dont mon magasin est meublé, cette somme modique pour le Gouvernement peut empêcher une catastrophe, que, jusqu'aujourd'hui, j'ai pu reculer, mais que chaque jour approche d'une manière effroyable, et je ne la devrai qu'aux belles marchandises que j'ai fabriquées pour l'Exposition et qui toutes sont encore en magasin.

Que votre Excellence veuille faire prendre des informations, elle saura que les faits et les besoins que je lui soumetts sont aussi réels que pressants.

Je prie Votre Excellence, d'agréer l'hommage du

profond respect avec lequel, je suis, Monsieur Le Duc

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

S^r GALLE

Fab^t de Bronzes et de Dorures rue Vivienne n° 9 et
rue Colbert n° 1

III

O³ 1891

2279

Paris, le 27 juillet 1820

Monsieur le Comte, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre une lettre que m'écrit M. Galle, fabricant de Bronzes et Dorures pour demander que le Roi daigne faire dans son magasin un achat de 20, à 25,000 francs de marchandise afin de le couvrir des avances très considérables que lui a causé la confection d'un grand nombre d'objets destinés à l'exposition de 1819 et qui n'ont point été vendus jusqu'à présent.

C'est à vous qu'il appartient, Monsieur le Comte, de soumettre cette demande à S.M.

Recevez, je vous prie, la nouvelle assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.

Richelieu

M. le Directeur Général du Ministère de la Maison du
Roi, Paris

IV

1820

Acquisitions

Proposées

Ministère

de la Maison

du Roi

Paris, le 29 juillet, 1820

Enre N°. ???

Je reçois, M. le Baron, une demande de M. Galle, Fabricant de bronzes, par laquelle il propose de céder à la Couronne une partie des objets qu'il a fabriqués pour l'exposition des produits de l'Industrie française. La stagnation du commerce et les besoins de ses ateliers feraient regarder à ce fabricant, une somme de 20 à 25.000.^f consacrée à cette acquisition comme un secours très précieux.

Quoique je n'ignore pas le peu de ressources que présente le budget de votre service, je n'ai pas cru devoir négliger de vous donner connaissance de la demande de M. Galle, qui ayant travaillé à diverses reprises pour le Gardemeuble, doit être connu de vous. Je vous invite donc à faire examiner les produits que ce fabricant offre

29. The sixteen documents are printed here, transcribed as exactly as possible with the original spelling and punctuation of the writers. Illegible words and signatures have been indicated by question marks.

de céder au Roi, et s'il en est quelques uns qui soit sous le rapport du prix, soit sous celui de l'utilité, puissent convenir au Gardemeuble. Vous voulez bien me faire connaître s'il y aurait possibilité d'en faire l'acquisition; mais vous devez penser que ce ne serait que dans le cas où il y aurait le plus grand avantage, que je pourrais me déterminer à autoriser tout ou partie d'une semblable dépense.

Agréez, Monsieur le Baron, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

Le Directeur G^{al} ayant le portefeuille.

C^{te} de Pradel

??

Monsieur le Baron de Ville-d'Avray

V

1^{er}, aout 1820

S. Ex. M. le Duc de Richelieu.

M. le Duc.

J'ai reçu avec la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 27 de ce mois, celle que M. Galle fabricant de Bronze avait adressée à V. Ex. Une demande semblable de cet habile artiste m'était déjà parvenue et je l'avais renvoyée à M. l'Intendant du G.M. avec invitation de faire examiner les objets que M. Galle offre de céder à la Couronne et de le traiter aussi favorablement que le permettront les ressources du budget de son service. Je suis flatté d'avoir prévenu la recommandation de V. Ex., et je la prie d'agréer les nouvelles assurances de ma très haute considération.

(This is a rough draft from the Comte de Pradel.)

VI

Garde Meuble de la Couronne.
Acquisition proposée

Rapport du Vérificateur
après en avoir conféré avec M^r les Inspecteurs; Je puis répondre, à la note concernant les acquisitions à faire de bronzes fabriqués par M^r Galle, qu'il n'y a aucun besoin pressant dans les Châteaux ou maisons royales, et que les dépenses forcées pour l'Ameublement de S.A.R. M^e La Duchesse de Berry, aux Tuileries absorbent le peu de fonds qui restent disponibles cette année.

J'ai l'honneur de proposer à Monsieur l'Intendant de répondre au Ministère, qu'il n'y a point de fonds disponibles; et que dans cet instant les Châteaux sont suffisamment garnis de bronzes.

Ce 4 Septembre 1820.

Le Breton des Chapelles

(note in left margin):
(different hand)

approuvé
M^r Monteuil
répondre au M^{istre}
conformément au Rapport.

Rep^{du} le 7. 7^{bre}, 1820

???

VII

2335

Garde-meuble
de la Couronne

Paris, le 6. Septembre 1820

n.º 732

Monsieur Le Comte,

Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 29. juillet dernier, pour m'inviter à faire examiner une partie de Bronzes que M. Galle a fabriqués pour l'exposition des produits de l'industrie française, et qu'il désire céder à la Couronne.

Je me suis empressé, Monsieur Le Comte, de faire examiner ces Objets, dont aucun n'a paru, pour le moment, utile au service ou aux ameublements dont on s'occupe et les fonds disponibles du Budget de 1820 offrant si peu de latitude, je pense qu'il est impossible de songer à faire cette acquisition.

Je suis avec respect,

Monsieur Le comte,

Votre très humble et
très obéissant Serviteur.

pour M^r L'Intendant absent.

Le Garde Général des meubles et Diamants
de la Couronne, Inspecteur en chef.
Le Ch^{er} de Gournay.

Monsieur Le Comte de Pradel, Directeur Général du
Ministère de la Maison du Roi.

VIII

Paris, 6 septembre 1820

Monsieur Le Comte

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire en Juillet dernier pour solliciter de S.M. l'achat de quelques grands articles en bronzedoré. Confectionnés pour la dernière Exposition, je n'ai point eu de réponse et depuis les événements ont encore aggravés ma pénible situation. Je vous conjure, Monsieur Le Comte, de prendre ma demande en considération ou de me faire dire si je dois renoncer à l'espérance de devoir à la munificence de S.M. la Conservation de mon Etablissement.

Dans quinze jours, Monsieur le Comte, il ne sera plus tems d'empêcher ma ruine et je la devrai toute entière à la fatale exposition de 1819.

Veillez agréer je vous prie, Monsieur Le Comte,
l'hommage de mon profond respect.

Sr Galle

Chevr de l'ordre Royale de la Légion d'honneur.
Fabr de Bronze et dorure rue de Colbert no 1 et
rue Vivienne no 9.

IX

Paris, 7 Septembre 1820

Monsieur Le Comte

En renouvelant hier la demande que j'ai déjà eu
l'honneur d'adresser à Votre Excellence, d'un achat que
S.M. voudrait bien faire des bronzes de ma fabrique pour
en assurer le soutien et me rendre une tranquillité que je
perdrai indubitablement sans les bontés du Roi. Je n'ai
peut-être pas assez précisé à Votre Excellence ce que je
demandais, je prends donc encore la liberté de vous
importuner et de vous adresser de dessin du surtout de
table que j'offre à S.M. Le prix de cet important objet
devrait être de f.15.000, il m'en coûte exactement f.13.000
et quelques francs, je me contenterai de ce prix et je ne
demanderais de suite que f.7.000, en supposant qu'on
voulut m'accorder le reste d'ici à un mois, ce que je
propose, sans être assez osé pour faire des conditions,
mais seulement pour prouver à Votre Excellence que mes
besoins tous pressants qu'ils soient, sont encore ceux d'un
honnête homme.

Je vous réitère, Monsieur Le Comte, l'assurance du
profond respect avec lequel je suis

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Sr Galle

Chvr de la Légion d'honneur
Fabr de Bronze doré rue Colbert no. 1
et rue Vivienne no. 9

X

Enre no. 989?

1820

Acquisitions
Proposées

Versailles 9. 7^{bre}

Monsieur

J'avais vivement sollicité La Boulaye d'appuyer la de-
mande que lui avait adressé M. Galle fabriquant de bronze
il m'a dit ce matin que cette demande vous était renvoyée
permettez moi de vous prier d'accorder votre intérêt à
cette demande et à son auteur qui sous tous les rapports le
mérite entièrement.

Souffrez que je profite de cette occasion pour me
rappeler à votre Souvenir et vous offrir l'assurance de la
haute considération et du respectueux attachement avec
lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur
Votre très humble et très
obéissant serviteur,

Dutillet

X

1820

acquisitions
proposées

regrets de n'avoir pu accéder
à l'offre de Mr Galle, à qui il prend
intérêt, ses bronzes ne conviennent pas au G.M.

Mr Monteul

Enre no. 766

lettre à Mr Dutillet de Villare Vice président du
tribunal de première instance du Dept. de Seine-et-
oise à Versailles

Mr

J'étais absent lorsque vous m'avez fait l'honneur de
m'écrire en faveur du Mr Galle — fabr de Bronze; et
pendant cette même absence il a été pris une décision
contraire au désir de ce fabricant, et au vœu que vous
m'exprimiez: elle était fondée sur l'insuffisance actuelle des
crédits alloués à l'effet du Garde Meuble et sur le peu de
rapport qui existait entre les fournitures proposées par le Sr
Galle, et les besoins présents du service. Je m'en coûte de
n'avoir que des regrets à vous exprimer; n'en agréez pas au
besoin de confiance, Monsieur, l'assurance des sentiments
les plus distingués, et très dévoués avec lesquels j'ai
l'honneur d'être

Monsieur,

(rough draft)

XI

1820

Acquisitions
proposées

Paris 10 septembre 1820

Enre no. 984 (?)

Monsieur le Baron,

J'ai sollicité de Monsieur le Comte de Pradel d'obtenir
de la munificence de S.M. l'achat d'une partie des
marchandises en bronze doré, que j'ai confectionnées
pour l'Exposition de 1819, j'apprends par Monsieur du
Billet, qui a bien voulu me remettre une lettre pour vous,
que cette demande vous a été renvoyée et je viens,
Monsieur le Baron, vous prier de m'être favorable, et
pour participer à une bonne oeuvre et pour perpétuer
dans ma famille, le souvenir qu'elle conserve de la protec-
tion toute particulière, que Monsieur Votre père accor-
dait autrefois au mien, pour tous les travaux de dorure
qui se faisaient alors dans les palais du Roi.

Si j'étais assez heureux, Monsieur le Baron, pour que

vous voulussiez me recevoir, j'aurais l'honneur de vous expliquer comment des travaux de l'Exposition, sont devenus pour moi une source de Calamités, et combien sont grands mes besoins. Monsieur le M^{rs} de Martel a bien voulu se charger de vous dire deux mots de cette affaire, mais je vous prie, Monsieur le Baron, de m'accorder un rendez-vous, puisque je n'ai point été assez favorisé pour pouvoir vous parler ce matin.

Je suis avec un profond respect, Monsieur le Baron,
Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur

S^t GALLE

Chevr^r de l'ordre de la Légion d'h^{eur} Fab^t de bronze
rue Vivienne no. 9 et r. Colbert no 1

(different hand, written in left margin)

M^r le Vérificateur
file pris de voir les
objets que M^r Galle
désire vendre et
de me faire son Rapport
je ne sçais pas si en
mon absence il y a eu
en effet un renvoy
du Ministère à
ce sujet.

XII

M. Galle

le 12 Sept. 1820

Je n'ai point perdu de vue Monsieur, l'offre que vous avez faite à la Couronne de céder une partie des objets en Bronzes que vous m'annoncez avoir fabriqués pour l'exposition des produits de l'industrie française. J'ai cru devoir consulter M^r l'intendant du G. M^{ble} sur une acquisition aussi importante, lui seul peut me faire connaître si la situation des fonds du G.M. peut me permettre de donner suite à votre offre, et ce n'est que d'après son rapport, que je pourrai à cet égard vous faire connaître ma décision.

(Rough draft)

XIII

Le Ministère de la Maison du Roi

Paris, le 26 Septembre 1820

(4294 G^{de} Meuble)

Rapport

M. le B^{on} de Ville-d'Avray invité d'après l'ordre de Monsieur le Comte, à faire examiner les bronzes que le S^t Galle désirait céder à la Couronne, fait connaître que ces objets ne présentent ni avantage ni utilité pour le Gardemeuble, et que par conséquence l'acquisition ne peut en être faite.

La demande de M. Galle avait été transmise par M. le Duc de Richelieu, mais sans recommandation.

Si Monsieur le Comte partage l'opinion de M. de Ville-d'Avray, on le prie de vouloir bien signer les deux lettres ci-jointes.

XIV

1820

Acquisitions proposées Paris, le 26 Septembre 1820
Ministère de la Maison du Roi Enre N^o 1003

D'après les motifs insérés dans votre lettre du 6. de ce mois, Monsieur le Baron, je pense comme vous qu'il devient inutile d'acquérir pour le Gardemeuble, les bronzes offerts pour le S^t Galle.

En conséquence, je viens de lui écrire pour lui faire connaître les motifs qui s'opposent à ce qu'on puisse donner suite à ses offres.

Agréez, Monsieur le Baron, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

Le Directeur G^{al} ayant le portefeuille.

C^{te} de Pradel

Monsieur le Baron de Ville-d'Avray

(In left margin:)

au secrétariat

(Rough draft attached)

XV

M. Galle, Fabricant de bronzes.

Rue de Colbert, n^o 1, r. Vivienne, n^o 9

Le 26 Sept. 1820

J'ai fait examiner, M., Les Bronzes que vous désirez céder au G.M. de la Couronne.

il résulte de cet examen que ces objets ne peuvent convenir aux nouveaux ameublements que l'on dispose pour les palais de la Couronne.

D'ailleurs la situation des fonds du Gardemeuble s'oppose à toute acquisition dont la nécessité ne serait pas reconnue indispensable. Ces motifs me laissent le regret de ne pouvoir donner suite à vos offres.

(Comte de Pradel) (?)

(Rough draft)

XVI

Paris 27 7^{bre} 1820

Monsieur

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser, conformément aux intentions bienveillantes qu'a eu la bonté de me faire connaître Monsieur Le Baron de Ville-d'Avray, une note détaillée des principales marchandises existant présentement dans mon magasin avec les prix les plus bas auxquels je puisse les céder, j'ai ajouté à cette note des

détails et des prix des marchandises que je puis confectionner si j'étais assez heureux pour recevoir un commande de monsieur L'Intendant du Garde Meuble de la Couronne.

Je suis, Monsieur, avec respect,

Votre très humble et très
obéissant serviteur

S: Galle

Fab: de Bronzes dorés rue Colbert no
1 rue Vivienne no 9

(Letterhead):³⁰

GALLE

Fabricant de Bronzes et Dorures

Rue Colbert, N° 1 et rue Vivienne, N° 9.

Paris, ce

181

GARNITURE POUR UN PREMIER SALON:

Note des objets présentés à l'exposition de 1819 existant encore en magasin et des divers articles de la fabrique susceptibles d'être livrés de suite en cas de demande.

Une pendule grande figure représentant l'Etude debout et appuyée sur une borne antique avec bas-relief le génie des arts; grand socle avec moulures et entablements richement ciselés, supporté par quatre grosses griffes et orné de candelabres antiques et de guirlandes de fruits, haut 3 Pieds, larg: 2 Pieds, Profondeur 1 Pied. 3000. 2500.

Deux grands candelabres à figures ailées d'ores mat. Les figures paraissent prendre leur essort et reposent encore légèrement sur une demi boule ciselée, posée sur un fût de colonne orné d'appliques semblables à celles de la pendule et terminé par des tortis de feuilles de chêne et de fleurettes; les figures portent dans leurs mains une couronne de cobea à 7. branches, les bobèches sont formées par la fleur du cobea. Hauteur 3 Pieds. 10 Pouces. 4000. 3500.

Un feu complet. Deux bornes antiques séparées par de riches consolles forment un monument agréable à l'oeil et enrichi d'une tête de gloire entourée de feuilles de chêne et de laurier; les bornes ont pour ornement des foudres ailées. haut. 13 p^{es} larg. 21 P^o Cette garniture a été exposée 1500. 1200.

La garniture complète 7200.
(ie, all of the above)

PENDULES DE 1^{er} SALON

Une grande pendule, dite flore, portant sur sa tête une

couronne de fleurettes dans l'intérieur de laquelle sont placées les heures dans des marguerites entourées de fleurs et de fruits; la figure est posée sur un socle rond avec moulure ciselée et double socle: Le mouvement de la pendule, placé dans l'intérieur du corps de la statue ne s'aperçoit nullement, un conduit ménagé dans la couronne sert à faire mouvoir les aiguilles. Hauteur 3 Pieds 9 P^o sur 13 P^o Prix toute au mat. 4000. 3500. Prix avec la figure bronzée, les socles et la couronne au mat 2000. 2000.

N.B. Cette pendule a été exposée avec la figure bronzée mais elle existe en magasin sous les deux désignations.

Une pendule l'Abondance. La déesse couchée sur des coussins, embrasse d'une main la corne d'abondance remplie de fruits et de fleurs parmi lesquels douze marguerites reçoivent les heures; Près de la figure est placée une ancre et un caducée symboles du commerce qui procure l'abondance; la corbeille est placée sur des épées de blés, et le socle est garni de guirlandes et de flambeaux antiques. La figure est bronzée. hauteur 27 P^o, largeur 29 Pouces, Profondeur 10½ Pouces. Prix ordinaire. 300. 2200.

Une pendule l'amour qui endort le Témis. Le Témis est assis sur un rocher et paraît s'endormir. l'Amour qui lui presse des pavots sur la tête, lui a déjà enlevé son tablier. Les deux figures sont bronzées et le socle en griotte d'Italie est enrichi d'une longue guirlande et de 2. chimères placées de chaque côté d'une double-couronne; les moulures et le socle sont posés sur quatre tabliers antiques. hauteur 26. Pouces largeur 23. Pouces, profondeur 9 Pouces. 1600. 1400.

Une pendule même modèle, de l'Etude designé ci-dessus; Ici la figure est bronzée, la borne recouverte d'une draperie dorée est comme le grand socle, en griotte d'Italie, une lyre sert d'ornement à la borne et le socle a également des candelabres et des guirlandes liés ensemble pour ornement; la moulure riche est portée par des griffes.

Cette pendule est sans verre et peut-être placée dans un grand cabinet d'Etude ou dans une bibliothèque. hauteur 35 P^o largeur 23 Pouces. profondeur 10 Pouces 1500. 1200.

N.B. Ces deux dernières pièces n'ont point été exposées.

GARNITURE POUR UN 2^{eme} SALON:

Une pendule à figure dite Clytie, elle tient dans la main gauche la fleur vulgairement appelée soleil et de la droite indique le midi. Le mouvement placé dans la fleur a pour centre les grains du tourne-sol. Le mouvement est à écho-pement libre et très soigné, la figure repose sur un fût de

30. Galle lists two prices for each object, the first is the "prix du magasin," the second "Diminution en faveur d'un achat ou d'une Commande considérable."

colonne avec ornement de guirlandes de fruits et torts de chêne et de fleurettes sur une base octogone. Elle est toute dorée au mat. Hauteur 35 Pouces sur 9½ P^o Cette pendule était à l'exposition..... 1500. 1400.

Deux candelabres à figure; Mercure et Iris partant d'une main un brandon à 7 branches, et de l'autre tenant, Mercure son caducée, Iris une couronne de fleurs de ce nom. Elle est placée sur l'arc-en-ciel et Mercure sur une tête de vent. L'une et l'autre figures sont posées sur un socle en tout semblable à celui de la pendule. hauteur 41 Pouces. ces candelabres ont été exposés... 1600. 1400.

Une galerie ceinturée à colonnes terminées par une demi boule; le ceintre est entouré d'une guirlande de fruits et des doubles couronnes complètent les ornements; une tringle en fer pale passant dans deux boules placées sur la bande supérieure de la galerie est destinée à recevoir les pièces pour ménager la dorure. longueur 48 P^o hauteur 9 Pouces 260. 220.

PENDULES DE 2^{ème} SALON:

Une pendule cacheuse d'heure. La figure de l'amitié cache avec son voile le cadran placé dans une borne en griotte d'Italie; le cadran laisse voir par un léger interval les heures placés sur un cercle tournant et qu'indique une aiguille qui reste immobile; les socles de cette pendule sont en griotte haut^r 20 P^o larg^r 11 P^o Prof^r 7½ P^o.
..... 750. 750.

Cette pendule dont l'idée a paru agréable et ingénieuse a valu à M^r Galle père 2^{ème} Prise du concours 1806.

Une pendule l'Etude—moyen modèle. La figure est aussi appuyée sur une borne et fixe un livre qu'elle tient de la main droite en soutenant avec la gauche le manteau qui l'enveloppe. Une femme entourée des attributs de l'Etude arrête le Temps qui s'enfuit et forme l'ornement de la borne enrichie par des feuilles riches qui règnent tout autour socle et moulures dorés de même que le reste de la pendule. hauteur 24 P^o larg^r 17 P^o Profondeur 8 P^o.
..... 900. 850.

Une pendule grand amour. Cette figure ailée tient dans ses mains une lyre d'une forme agréable et s'appuie sur une borne de la même forme que la précédente, le mouvement qui y est placé a pour lunette un serpent qui se mord la queue et est supporté par une figure de Renommée en bas relief; socle et moulures à feuilles d'eau comme ci-dessus. haut^r 24 P^o larg^r 16½ P^o Profond^r 8 P^o
..... 900. 850.

Une pendule Paul et Virginie. Les deux jeunes amants assis sur un rocher se reposent et se couvrent la tête avec le voile de Virginie, le rocher est entouré de lierre, le groupe est monté sur une plinthe dorée avec socle, moulure et griffes toute dorée au mat. Le mouvement est placé au milieu du rocher. hauteur 23. P^o largeur 21. P^o Profondeur 8. Pouces. 900

Une pendule l'Etude et la méditation. Deux figures assises près d'une borne antique dont l'une lit et l'autre paraît méditer, un socle en marbre griotte enrichi d'une

feuille de muguet, de riches moulures et des boules ciselées composent cette pendule dont le sujet souvent répété est encore recherché et est l'un des plus meublants qui puisse se faire dans ce prix. haut^r 19 P^o larg^r 25 P^o prof^r 7. Pouces 800. 700

Une pendule à quatre colonnes et trophées militaires. Cette composition quoiqu'ancienne peut parfaitement convenir dans un château royal; sa grande dimension aurait pu la mettre au rang des premiers modèles. quatre colonnes cannelées dorées mat soutiennent un portique en marbre vert de mer sur lequel un trophée d'armes antique est placé pour couronnement de la pendule. De chaque côté du trophée les statues de Mars et de Minerve sont placées au dessus des colonnes; les socles sont aussi en marbre vert de mer et un bas-relief représentant l'allégorie des bienfaits de la paix termine agréablement cette belle et royale pendule. ht 31 P^o larg^r 20. P^o Prof^r 6. P^o. 1500. 1100.

PENDULE DE CHAMBRE À COUCHER OU DE CABINET:

Une pendule l'amour et l'amitié. Un amour placé sur une borne antique caresse une jeune femme qui le tient tendrement dans ses bras socle et moulures dorés mat— hauteur 18. P^o largeur 11. Pouces, profondeur 6. Pouces 550. 500.

Une pendule amour silence. l'amour le doigt appuyé sur la bouche montre avec sa flèche l'heure de rendez-vous. Joli petit sujet. hauteur 18. P^o largeur 11. P^o profondeur 6. Pouces 500. 480.

Une pendule Cléopâtre. La figure est copiée de l'antique, le sujet est enrichi de moulures et de griffes. ht 13 P^o l^r 21. P^o prof. 7. P^o 600. 550.

Une pendule borne antique avec entourage à feuilles richement ciselé, le cadran placé dans la borne est entouré d'un serpent qui se mord la queue; une lyre de jolie forme est placée comme bas-relief sur la borne qui repose sur une double moulure avec plinthe, double socle et griffes. hauteur 18½ Pouces, largeur 11½ Pouces, profondeur 7. P^o 450. 420.

Plusieurs autres modèles de diverses formes et grandeurs en bronze, marbre, albatre depuis 400 f. jusqu'à 100. avec des mouvements à quinzaine et jusqu'à 60 et 120. f. comme huitaine et porte montre.

CANDELABRES:

Une paire de grands candelabres homme et femme portant dans leurs mains un carquois richement ciselé terminé par un groupe de fruits duquel sortent six branches à feuilles d'ornement; la composition est terminée par un serpent qui enlace un (Lyre?). Les bases sont carrées avec bas-reliefs et couronne. hauteur 42. Pouces. cet objet a été exposé. 1700. 1400.

Une paire de candelabres à figures de femmes ailées portant une couronne d'où sortent cinq branches à arabesques. Les figures sont posées sur une boule sortant d'une coque qui est placée sur un fut de colonne avec des ornements à grosses feuilles d'eau terminé par un socle

octogonne. hauteur 36. Pouces. 1000. 900.

Une paire de candelabres même modèle à quatre lumières seulement. hauteur 32. Pouces. 650. 580.

Une paire de candelabres à figures portant sur la tête une lampe antique à 3. Branches et des cornets à têtes de vieillards dans chacune de leurs mains. Les bases ornées de moulures et d'ornements sont en griotte d'Italie. haut: 29. P^o 850. 700.

Une paire de grands candelabres à gros balustres à feuilles d'acanthé terminé par une coupe sur laquelle un groupe de feuilles d'acanthé donne naissance à 12. grandes et riches branches disposées sur deux rangs de lumières. Le balustre a pour base un socle carré avec moulure et entablement enrichi de têtes de boeufs et de couronnes dans le style antique. haut: 42. P^o cet objet a été exposé. 2000. 1800.

Une paire de candelabres balustre pied triangle à chimères, branches à têtes de griffons, couronnement à vase et branches à dragons ailés; têtes de Diane et bas-reliefs à figures ailées. hauteur 39 Pouces. ... 1600. 1500.

Le même modèle à 6 Branches, moitié grandeur. haut: 26. P^o 500. 450.

Le même modèle balustre riche terminé par une lampe antique à 3 Branches. hauteur. 24. Pouces. .. 600. 500.

Une grande diversité de candelabres à balustres à figures, dont les désignations deviendraient fastidieuses par les répétitions, dans les prix depuis 500. jusqu'à 120.^f et même 100. toujours en bonne dorure et soignés portant généralement depuis six jusqu'à trois et deux lumières, flambeaux de toutes espèces, bonne dorure dans les formes de carquois, de balustre et de colonne depuis 100 jusqu'à 45. f. dans les hauteurs de 14. à 8. Pouces; et de 45. à 25^f dans les hauteurs de 8. à 5. Pouces.

flambeaux argentés, dimensions de 14. à 8. Pouces du prix de 50. à 22. f^s et de 8. à 5. Pouces du prix de 22. à 8. et 9. francs.

Lustre à poissons, au milieu d'un globe émaillé en bleu et parsemé d'étoiles est un cercle avec les signes du zodiaque et six griffons portant des lumières. De six patères placés entre chaque griffon partent douze branches ornées de ciselure; des ornements de bon goût en arabesque supportent l'anneau destiné à pendre le lustre; au dessous du cercle sur lequel sont placées les lumières six branches légères ornées d'enroulements suspendent une cuvette en cristal garnie d'une riche galerie et qui se termine par un culot dans lequel est placé sans être vu un bouchon destiné à renouveler l'eau que l'on place dans la cuvette avec les petits poissons rouges dont le mouvement continu récrée l'oeil agréablement. hauteur du lustre 4. Pieds, diamètre 2. Pieds 11 P^o ce lustre a été exposé 3000. 2400.

Un très grand lustre à 24. lumières; les branches à feuilles d'ornement sortent d'une espece de corbeille riche d'ornements et se groupent sur deux rangs de lumières; des chaînes d'une grande richesse partent d'un couronne-

ment à grosses palmes et viennent soutenir la corbeille de laquelle sortent les branches. Un balustre qui se rattache au couronnement et à la corbeille forme à travers les six chaînes une masse de dorure qui reflète les cristaux qui servent à figurer entierement une riche corbeille. Ce lustre est un des plus beaux qui se puisse faire. Il n'a point été exposé. hauteur 4. Piéds 6. Pouces Diamètre 3. Piéds 11. Pouces. 7000. 6000.

Lampes à figures de femmes dont les extremités se terminent en arabesques et servant de naissance à des branches à tête de loup portant la bobèche; assises sur un riche cul-de-lampe ces femmes jouent chacune d'instruments différents. Le couronnement du lustre ci-dessus est semblable à celui de cette lampe qui peut-être mise à quarente lumières à 24. à 18. à 12. et même à 6. la hauteur à 40. lumières est de 5. Pieds et le diametre de 4. Pieds 8. Pouces.

Prix à 40 lumières	avec cristaux	 10,000.
"	sans cristaux	 8000.
à 24 lumières	avec cristaux	 8000.
"	sans cristaux	 6500.
à 18 lumières	avec cristaux	 6000.
"	sans cristaux	 5500.
à 12 lumières	avec cristaux	 4000.
"	sans cristaux	 3000.
à 6. lumières	avec cristaux	 2500.
"	sans cristaux	 2000.

Lampe à 9. branches, becs de forme antique suspendus par des chaînes riches, le culot à palmettes le corps de la lampe bronzé hauteur 3. Pieds, diamètre 17 Pouces. 400. 350.

Lampe à 6 branches même modèle, hauteur 3. Pieds diamètre. 14. Pouces..... 350. 300.

GALERIE DE GRANDS SALONS:

D'autre lampes plus et moins riches depuis 1000. f. jusqu'à 180.f.

Une galerie à bornes à feuilles ciselées avec appliques à foudres ailés, ceintre et moulures riches avec appliques à grandes feuilles de rosier et rosaces au milieu fond plein, avec fer pile et pincette vernis longueur 5. Pieds, hauteur 13 Pouces..... 750. 700.

Une grande galerie ceintrée à pilastres avec double consoles riches et bas reliefs les beaux arts environnant la paix qui reçoit en trophée les armes de la guerre; frise à arabesques et rosaces dorées avec tous les accessoires longueur de 4. Pieds 8. P^o à 6. Pieds haut: 9. P^o ½ 700. 600.

Une grande galerie ceintrée à lionnes sur pilastres fond à jour et frise à muguet double, les lionnes bronzées et les accessoires complètes. de 5. Pieds 6. Pieds 8. P^o de long sur 8. de ht..... 450. 400.

Beaucoup d'autres galeries à pilastres, à bornes à colonnes, ceintrées et non ceintrées. depuis 260^f jusqu'à 120. et 90.

Une foule de jolies écritaires en marbre, cristal, porphyre garnies en bronze et d'autres en bronze enrichi de dorure depuis les prix de 650^f jusqu'à 25. et moins.

Entre autre on remarque un chien caniche portant à sa gueule un petit panier dans lequel est placée une montre. Le chien est posé sur une terrasse qui recouvre une boîte dans laquelle se trouve l'encrier, la poudrière et une petite cuvette pour recevoir les plumes, le canif. etc 120.

Des Bougeoirs d'un si grand nombre de formes qu'il serait impossible de les désigner tous. leur prix varie de 40. à 14 francs.

SUPLÉMENT AUX PENDULES DE 1^{er} SALON:

Une pendule Cérès Grand Modèle. Cérès est assise sur une charue attelée de deux boeufs et conduite par un Laboureur sous lequel on a voulu figurer Triptolème qui apprit de Cérès à cultiver la terre. La charue est faite avec une scrupuleuse Exactitude. La déesse tient à sa main une gerbe de blé et une faucille. La terrasse sur laquelle repose tout le groupe est elle-même posée sur un socle de griotte enrichi d'un grand moulure. L'exécution de cette pièce est très soignée. 2000. 1800.

Paris ce 27 7^{bre} 1820

S^r Galle

XVII

Garde Meuble de la Couronne

Acquisition proposée

Bronzes de M^r Galle

Rapport du Vérificateur:

Je me suis rendu chez M^r Galle afin d'y voir des Bronzes dont il propose l'acquisition, il m'a adressé l'état ci-joint, et desire vivement que le Gardemeuble puisse faire l'acquisition de quelques uns de ces articles.

Les Bronzes m'ont paru fort bien établies, et M^r Galle, par la réputation de sa Maison est fait pour intéresser.

J'ai l'honneur de proposer au Monsieur l'Intendant de faire conserver l'état de dits Bronzes afin que dans l'occasion M. Galle puisse être compris dans le nombre des fournisseurs.

Ce 2 Octobre 1820

Le Breton des chapelles

M^r (?)

en cas d'approvisionnement on pourrait prendre quelques uns de bronzes de M. Galle; file pris de garder cet état, à tout événement, et pour y pouvoir recourir si l'occasion le présente.

Le sculpteur des Danseuses

Jiří Frel

Il s'agit des Danseuses de Delphes. Après avoir retrouvé leur place et dans le sanctuaire et dans l'histoire, elles viennent de récupérer leurs bras.² Le sculpteur restait anonyme; le nom est Chairestratos fils de Chairedemos de Rhamnonte.

Ce n'est pas un inconnu à Delphes. Au temps de la grande fouille, le 23 avril 1893, un fragment sculpté fut trouvé dans le voisinage de l'Aurige, donc pas très loin des Danseuses:³ le tronçon d'un support avec le pan de draperie (nr. 1 dans la liste *infra*, Fig. 8) portant la signature de Chairestratos l'Athénien. Sans aucune difficulté, on y a reconnu le sculpteur qui a signé la Thémis de Rhamnonte (nr. 2, Figg. 2, 5, 10); travaillant en dehors de son pays natal, il a naturellement substitué l'éthnique au démotique. Peut-être que la gravure confirme, s'il le faut, l'identification; des caractères comparables, semblent-il, paraissent sur la base cylindrique de la statue hermès de Rhamnonte (nr. 9, Fig. 15); aux épigraphistes d'en décider, tournons nous vers la sculpture.

Sauf qu'il atteste la présence de Chairestratos à Delphes, le fragment signé nous apprend peu de choses. Taillé dans du marbre pentélique de qualité moyenne, il est couvert d'une épaisse patine, granuleuse par endroits, qu'on retrouve fréquemment à Delphes. Les Danseuses sont de la même pierre et la patine est identique. Le fragment est cassé en haut et en bas. Au dessus de la draperie, les trois lignes de la signature sont disposées sur une "étiquette" rectangulaire aux contours légèrement

irréguliers; sa surface un peu plus soignée se détache du tronçon dont elle applatit la courbe. La draperie au rebord redoublé est plutôt plate dans son ensemble. Les proportions des plis correspondent à une statue grande nature, au minimum. Le travail est sommaire comme on peut s'y attendre. De grands coups attaquent la masse du marbre pour suggérer l'articulation noueuse du tronçon, des plis verticaux aboutissent dans le schéma d'un zig-zag linéaire. En absence de la sculpture dont le support faisait partie, la présence de Chairestratos à Delphes n'est qu'une énigme de plus.

Thémis, jadis maîtresse de l'Oracle, est peut-être disposée à y répondre: an effet, son effigie de Rhamnonte (nr. 2) est une soeur authentique des Danseuses de Delphes.

Tout d'abord, c'est la même race de femmes robustes, d'apparence opulente mais ferme. Bien bâties, elles font un peu carré, le corps solide, les poitrines pleines, les bras vigoureux, les jambes bien plantées, de grandes têtes au visage régulier, les joues gonflées, les yeux grand ouverts. Si leur parentes peuplent les stèles funéraires attiques, elles-mêmes ne sont pas tout à fait des Athéniennes de la meilleure souche. Car leur vertu est plutôt chair que l'esprit, plutôt vigueur que l'élégance, plutôt santé que le charme; bref, à la campagne, le sel attique est moins mordant que dans la Cité. Même l'allure grandiose réalisée dans les deux cas n'est pas sans un timbre rustique. Donc identité des figures, des proportions, des

Cette note n'est qu'une modeste expression de la gratitude pour le privilège d'avoir assisté en 1946-48 à deux cours offerts par Monsieur de La Coste à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études: *Les kouroi et Pausanias à Delphes*

Mes remerciements sont dus à Athéna Kaloyéropoulou, Varvara Philippaki, Diana Weaver, Georges Daux, José Dörig, Petros Thémélis, Franz Willemsen. Les photographies sont de l'École Française, de l'Insti-

tut Archéologique Allemand, du Musée National d'Athènes

1. Grâce à J.Pouilloux et G.Roux, cf. nr.3 *infra*

2. Grâce à J.Marcadé. cf.nr.3 *infra*

3. D'après l'inventaire rédigé par N.Kondoleon; information amicalement communiquée par P.Thémélis; cf. aussi J.Marcadé, nr.1 *infra*



1

Figure 1. Tête de femme de la stèle fig.11, Athènes 1006.

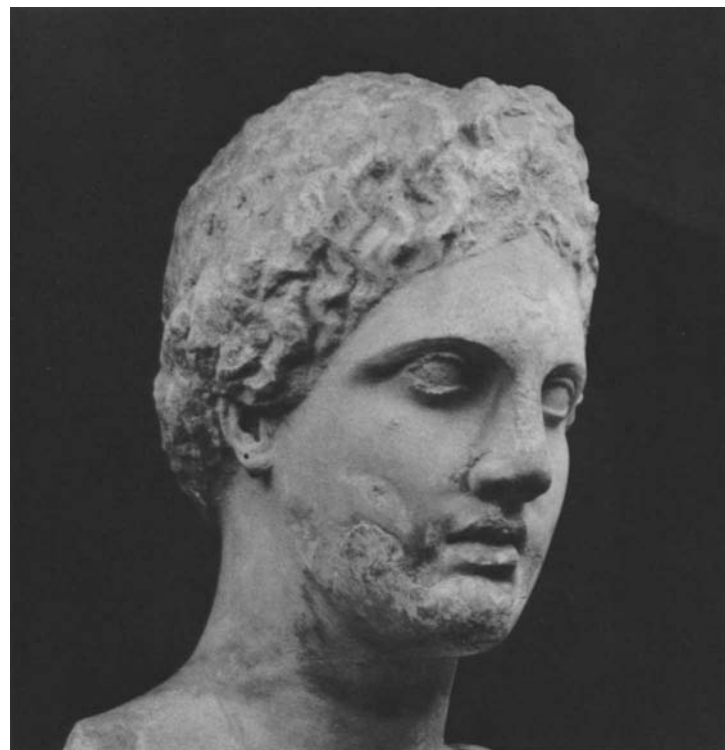
Figure 2. Thémis, Athènes 231.

Figure 3. Tête d'une des Danseuses, Delphes.

Figure 4. Thémis, Athènes 231.

Figure 5. Thémis, Athènes 231.

Figures 6-7. Les Danseuses, Delphes.



2



5



3



4



6



7

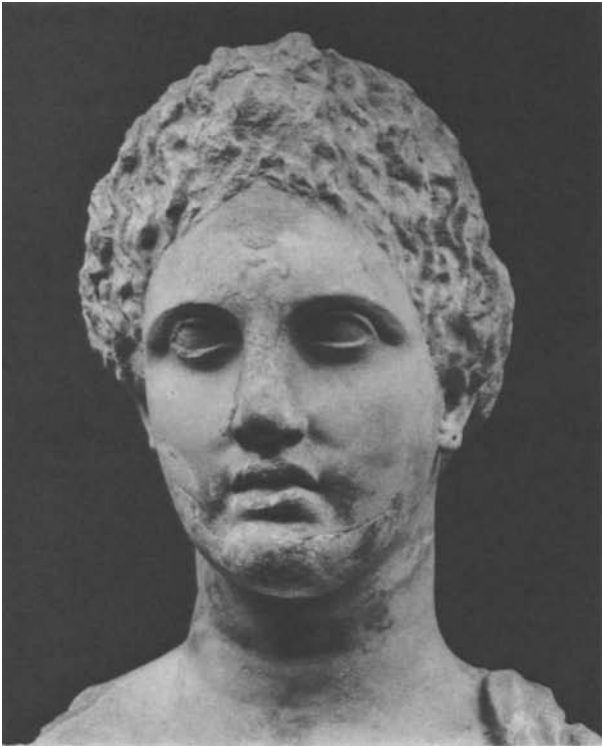


Figure 8. Thémis, Athènes 231.

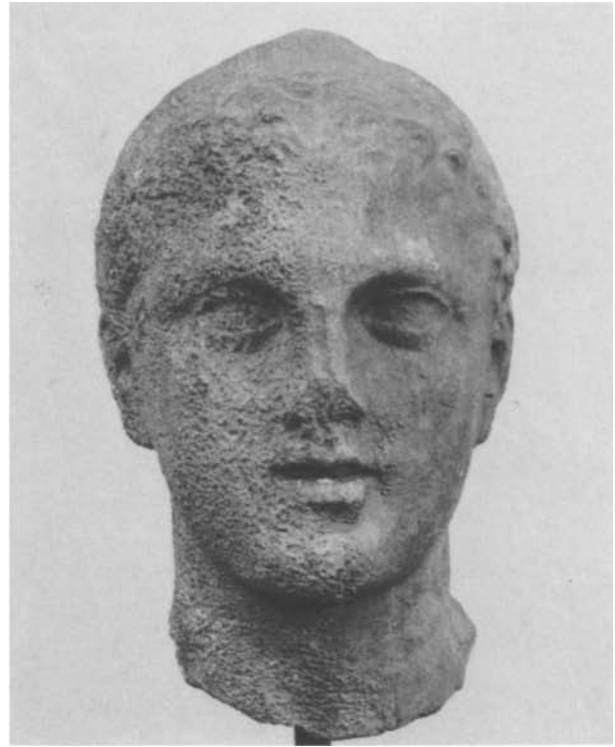


Figure 9. Tête d'éphèbe, Athènes 318.

formes, des détails. D'autre part, on note des différences. Les Danseuses exposées au Musée de Delphes ont l'air plus sommaires—placées sur le haut de leur colonne, elles paraissaient autant détaillées que la Thémis vue de près. Les épaules plus larges de Thémis disent la majesté divine d'une statue de culte. Les Danseuses, aux épaules plus tendres, font davantage jeunes filles, un peu figées dans une chorégraphie rituelle. Notons un détail commun aux deux sculptures: le rendu du nombril. Il fait une cavité circulaire, un peu plus d'un franc de diamètre, bien tangible sous la fine transparence des chitons. C'est à peine si l'abdomen fasse une courbe vers cette marque inattendue. Le "bol" caractéristique des Aphrodités ou d'autres statues de femmes divines ou mortelles, nues ou drapées, est à peine esquissé. Enfin, un artifice prend la place d'un autre, rappelant une fois de plus la *physis* artificielle des *figures* à la fois riches et mesurées, telles qu'elles ont été réalisées par la statuaire antique. Relevant de la tradition des formes, elles ne font que réfléchir le

monde réel, contrairement à l'attente du grand public et de nombreux spécialistes réputés qui persistent dans la foi touchante confondant la sculpture et l'illustration des manuels d'anatomie.

L'analyse de la draperie confirme l'attribution des Danseuses à Chairestratos. Dans les deux cas, le chiton, ceint immédiatement sous les grands seins écartés, forme entre eux une agglomération de fins plis, continués sous la ceinture. La draperie de Thémis fait une vraie cascade en relief très marqué sur la poitrine, tandis que les chitons des Danseuses, aux plis plutôt plats, sont collés aux corps; néanmoins, le principe est le même. Le manteau de Thémis, décoré par les fringes en aiguilles pointues⁴ peintes en rouge, tombe de l'épaule gauche pour envelopper ses flancs. L'envergure de ses grands plis est coupée par un bout chiffonné, creusé à contresens, "posé" en césure au milieu du grand kolpos.

L'intention fut de produire l'effet de la draperie mouillée, épousant les formes des corps pour les rendre

4. Cf. p.ex. les fringes en bas de la robe d'Athéna sur les Panathénaiques du Groupe de Hildesheim-ABV 412

5. Pour les vicissitudes du monument cf. G. Daux BCH 96 (1972) 315 sqq; la reconstruction est rapportée dans AAA 2 (1969)

6. La connexion entre le fragment redécouvert à Rhamnonte (cf. la

note suivante) et le fragment avec la tête de femme (cf. la note 9 *infra*) a été constatée par D. Philios (*Praktika* pour 1880 67 sq nr.3) cf. aussi K. Milchhöfer, *Die Museen von Athen* 81; on l'a niée par la suite—Conze sous nr.1184; en 1967, lors d'une visite à Rhamnonte avec Jörg Schäffer, j'ai vu le même joint (en ignorant, hélas! la bibliographie) plus



Figure 10. Support signé par Chairestratos, Delphes.



Figure 11. Stèle funéraire, Athènes 4796.

plus sensuels qu'ils ne paraîtraient dans la nudité. Le procédé est bien assimilé par le sculpteur, peut-être trop bien; tandis que les maîtres du passé—de la balustrade de Niké à l'Acropole au provincialisme ionien à Xanthe—réussissaient ainsi des images frémissant de vie, Chairestratos ne fait que tourner la draperie en pierre. Son exécution aisée aboutit sur une voie où les formules sont sur le point de se détacher des formes qu'elles doivent rendre.

Chairestratos avait d'autres ressources. Une autre sculpture issue de son ciseau est un incomparable chef d'oeuvre: une stèle funéraire trouvée à Rhamnonte (nr. 4), dont les *disiecta membra* furent dispersés⁵ pour être arrachés de l'oubli et de la destruction par un sculpteur Grec de notre temps, Stélio Triantis, qui met son art au service de celui des ses ancêtres. En effet, la plaque avec des corps observée à Rhamnonte au siècle passé⁶ fut réexhumée pour rester sur le site, le troisième torse, rongé par le temps,⁷ reposait à la belle étoile au Nord du Musée

National d'Athènes, tandis que les deux têtes barbues, mangées par l'air salé de Rhamnonte,⁸ et la tête de femme avec une partie de la plaque du fond, miraculeusement conservée,⁹ avaient une place d'honneur dans le Musée.

Et c'est bien cette dernière (Fig. 1) qui justifie l'attribution. Au premier coup d'oeil, l'identité avec le chef de Thémis et celui des Danseuses seul bien conservé est évidente. Il faut regarder de près pour se rendre compte que reproduisant son modèle standard, Chairestratos l'a nanti, avec une discrétion toute classique, des marques d'un âge bien avancé. En revanche, la vieillesse de son compagnon assis est constatée sans ambages: le corps alourdi et ramolli exprime la même lassitude fatiguée qui se lit encore sur son visage quel que soit l'état de son conservation. Mais c'est l'homme un peu plus jeune, circonstance qui fait ressortir l'intonation tragique de la scène, un frère cadet peut-être, qui les a devancé tous les deux pour passer le premier par les portes d'Hadès.¹⁰

le joint de la tête barbue, Athènes 577; j'avais tort d'attribuer l'autre barbu d'Athènes-577 à une autre stèle, alors à Rhamnonte (nr.5 *infra*)-cf. pour cette tentative Listy *filologické* 1968 475

7. Cf. BCH (1959)600.36, *Ergon* pour 1958 40.42 (pour le premier fragment); les deux Conze 718a

8. Athènes 577, Conze 1292 et Athènes 576, Conze 1291

9. Athènes 1006, Conze 1184.261, AAA 2 (1969) 77.2; ici fig.1.

10. L'interprétation des scènes représentées sur les stèles funéraires prête facilement à confusion; cependant un point doit être fait parfaitement clair: il n'y a nulle raison d'identifier le personnage assis

Détaché du fond et isolé dans la composition comme une statue frontale, il s'enfonce dans les Ténèbres. Cependant il retourne la tête en arrière: sans pouvoir le récupérer, les souvenirs de ses parents semblent arrêter pour un instant sa démarche vers le néant: son aîné essayait de retenir sa main. Une tension dramatique un peu tableau vivant en résulte, mais la réussite artistique est totale.

On peut aisément s'imaginer combien Chairestratos lui-même estimait avoir fait de son mieux dans les deux commissions officielles en suivant la meilleure tradition classique. Les deux sculptures avaient pu confirmer sa réputation à l'époque, mais le spectateur moderne n'éprouve qu'une admiration tiède pour la Thémis, tandis que les Danseuses plaisent moins par leur pompe solennelle que pour la bonne foi rustique de leur apparence. On ignore quelle attention le sculpteur donnait-il à cette commande privée où il a réussi un coup de maître consommé. Sortant du classicisme devenu stérile, son génie se réclame de l'art hellénistique. Dans l'activité de son atelier, le cas n'est pas isolé: une autre stèle funéraire (nr. 7), sculptée sous sa direction, montre le même art, le même esprit.

Mais avant d'aborder les oeuvres de l'atelier, il faut mentionner deux autres sculptures par Chairestratos lui-même. Il s'agit tout d'abord d'une stèle (nr. 5) qui à la fin des années 50 et pendant la décade suivante a trainé sur le sol de Rhamnonte à côté d'un fragment de la stèle précédente (nr. 4),¹¹ invitant à la comparaison directe du travail et du motif d'un gros vieillard assis. La dernière pièce dans la liste actuelle c'est une tête d'éphèbe de Rhamnonte (nr. 6, Fig. 11) dont le visage et l'exécution correspondent parfaitement à la tête de Thémis (Fig. 12).

Le compagnon de l'éphèbe, également de Rhamnonte (nr. 10, Fig. 13) exposé sur le même support au Musée National, est de facture quelque peu différente. Ainsi, par exemple, les paupières de la première tête font une coupure très nette, tout comme celles de Thémis, des Danseuses, de la femme de la stèle nr. 4. Les yeux de l'autre éphèbe donnent l'impression quelque peu enflée, la paupière inférieure est comme un ruban appliqué.

avec le défunt. Cette position marque le respect témoigné à la mère, à l'épouse, à la personne âgée. En principe, le mort est désigné par l'attention que lui portent les autres personnages de la scène. Je suis responsable (*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 14, 1973, 173) d'un malentendu (G.Daux BCH 100, 1976, 206sq., fig. 5) à propos de l'identification du personnage décédé sur la stèle de Mynnina au Musée Getty où il y a une contradiction entre l'inscription, identifiant Mynnina comme la défunte, et le relief, où sa mère Euphrosyné apparaît comme la morte, non parce qu'elle est assise, mais parce que les deux autres figures (l'enfant "Artemisias" et Mynnina elle-même) s'adressent à elle avec des

Et ce même détail se retrouve ailleurs, sur l'hermès drapé d'éphèbe de Rhamnonte (nr. 9, Fig. 15),¹² ou sur la tête de la jeune femme de la grandiose "dernière" stèle attique (de Rhamnonte, nr. 7) que j'avais tort de rattacher directement à Chairestratos.¹³ D'ailleurs la parenté est manifeste et pour l'ensemble et pour certains détails; ainsi par exemple, S. Karouzou l'a bien vu¹⁴ en comparant au chef de l'homme de la "dernière" stèle les deux têtes barbues,¹⁵ qui n'étaient pas alors rattachées à la stèle de Rhamnonte nr. 4. On retrouve également certains procédés techniques dans les deux groupes. Ainsi les pieds de la femme de la "dernière" stèle et ceux de Thémis sont sculptés à part et rajustés, tout comme les bras droits des Danseuses. En outre, le motif du zig-zag se retrouve sur le manteau de l'homme de la "dernière" stèle et sur le support signé par Chairestratos (nr. 1).

Mais surtout le même esprit marque les deux groupes. La scène grandiose du monument funéraire nr. 4 n'a pas de pendant sinon dans le sujet de la "dernière" stèle. L'homme barbu tenait encore la main droite de sa jeune épouse, geste qui dans le répertoire funéraire marque traditionnellement des liens insolubles. Mais il sait déjà qu'il ne se consolera jamais. En vain s'efforce-t-il de captiver ses regards; si sa tête est encore tournée vers lui, elle-même est en train de lui échapper pour toujours. Fiancée d'Hadès, elle vient de retrouver la beauté d'une déesse virgine:

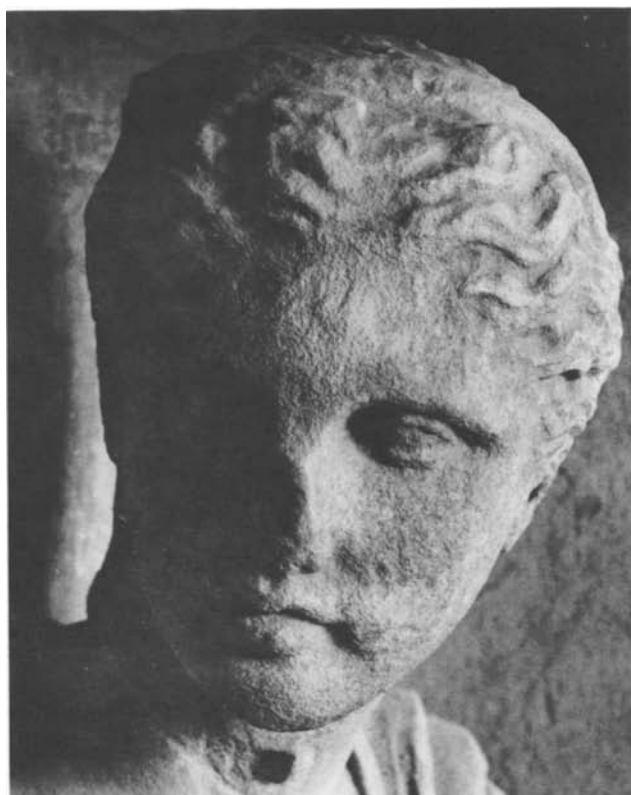
'Αρτέμιδι σε ἐγὼ γε, Διὸς κόρη μέγαλοιο,
εἰδὸς τε μέγεθός τε φύην τ' ἄγχιστα ἔσχω

Et on y devine la douce présence de l'invisible Conducteur des âmes.

Grâce à S. Triantis, la figure féminine a récupéré sa main gauche retenant le manteau.¹⁶ Ce geste, riche de signification, arrondit la composition et invite une addition supplémentaire: celle d'une petite servante angoissée par le départ de sa maîtresse. En effet, elle est sculptée sur une parastade de Rhamnonte (nr. 7a, Fig. 14) que j'avais attribuée au sculpteur de la stèle nr. 7 en 1967;¹⁷ en 1974, je me suis aperçu que la jonction s'imposait. L'ayant

marques d'attention manifestes

11. Cf. BCH 83 (1959) 600.36, *Ergon* pour 1958 40.42
12. La position de la tête a été améliorée par S. Triantis
13. *Les sculpteurs attiques anonymes* (1969) 53.396
14. *Syllogé glypton*, éd. française, (1968) 126
15. Cf. note 7 *supra*
16. *Delt* 27 (1972) b 1 pl. 3 ab
17. *Les sculpteurs attiques anonymes* 53.397



12



13



14



15

Figure 12. Tête de femme de la stèle Athènes 833.

Figure 13. Tête d'éphèbe, Athènes 317.

Figure 14. Parastade, Athènes 1293.

Figure 15. Hermès drapé, Athènes 313.

communiqué à mon ami Triantis j'ai eu non seulement son accord total, mais encore une surprise: il le savait depuis longtemps.

Outre la tête d'éphèbe (nr. 10) et la "dernière" stèle (nrs. 7 et 7a), ce deuxième groupe compte, pour le moment, encore deux monuments. L'un est un relief de Rhamnonte (nr. 8) retrouvé par B. Ashmole et reconstruit à l'aide des moulages, car le marbre reste partagé entre le Musée Britannique et le Musée National d'Athènes. L'autre pièce est l'hermès juvénile drapé de Rhamnonte (nr. 19, Fig. 15). Toutes ces sculptures partagent des figures plus sveltes aux proportions plus élancées, des mouvements plus audacieux, des draperies plus collantes que celles des monuments attribués directement à Chairestratos. Il s'agit donc d'un autre sculpteur travaillant à côté du maître. On serait tenté de trouver un lien de famille entre les deux.¹⁸

Finalement deux autres reliefs votifs (nrs. 11 et 12) ont été sculptés dans le même atelier.

En attendant une étude plus poussée pour tracer l'évolution de l'art de Chairestratos et l'activité de son atelier, on s'accordera que la chronologie adoptée couramment pour sa Thémis signée (3ème siècle, de préférence son début)¹⁹ est trop basse. La date correcte pour les Danseuses (335-332),²⁰ fruit d'une discussion de plus de 80 ans, et celle proposée pour l'hermès juvénile (avant 330, sinon 333 exactement)²¹ placent son activité entre 340 et 300, peut-être; nul doute que Chairestratos lui-même et non son homonyme grand-père imaginaire fut bouleuté en 328/7.²² Nul doute que l'atelier continua à travailler au siècle suivant.²³

Quoi qu'il en soit, si les Danseuses retrouvent le sculpteur, la renommée de Chairestratos y gagne quelque chose.

LES SCULPTURES MENTIONNÉES

(avec bibliographie minimum)

I. CHAIRESTRATOS FILS DE CHAIREDEMOS DE RHAMNONTÉ

1. support signé, Delphes; J.Marcadé *Recueil des signatures des sculpteurs Grecs I* (1953) 11, pl.IV.4 (bibl. G. Lippild, *Griechische Plastik* (1951); 302n7. ("relief," à la suite de Pomptow); ici Fig. 10.

2. statue de Thémis, signée, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 231; BrBr 476, *Hesp* 2 (1933) 64.22, Marcadé 12, W.Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (1969) 223 sq.242, *Festschrift Brommer* (1977) pl.43.1; ici Figg.2,4,5,8.

3. les Danseuses de Delphes; bibl. J.Pouilloux-G.Roux, *Énigmes à Delphes* (1963) 133 sq. n.5, J.Marcadé, *Mélanges Helléniques Daux* (1974) 239 n.1; les meilleures reproductions (avant la restitution des bras): P. de La Coste-Messelière—G.de Miré, *Delphes* (1943) p.11.165-171; ici Figg. 3,5,6.

4. stèle, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 4796, (recomposée de plusieurs fragments, dont deux têtes barbues 577 et 576 et la tête de femme avec une partie de la plaque 1006); AAA 2 (1969) 76sq.1-2, BCH 94 (1970) 885.1,96 (1972) 357.9; ici Figg. 1 and 11.

5. stèle, de Rhamnonte: vieillard assis, tourné vers la droite, en face de lui, un enfant et une autre figure (masculine?).

6. tête d'éphèbe, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 318; RA 1913 I 273.3; ici Fig. 9.

II. UNE AUTRE MAIN DU MÊME ATELIER

7. stèle, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 833; Conze 1084.221, EA

673-676, N.Himmelfmann-Wildschütz, *Studien zum Ilissos-Relief* (1956) figg.26-30, R.Lullies-M.Hirmer, *Griechische Plastik* (1956) 219, *Delt* 27 B 1 (1972) pl.3 ab (avec la main gauche de la figure de femme); ici Fig.12 (détail).

7a. parastade avec la figure d'une petite servante, appartenant à la stèle nr.7, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 1283; Conze 1283(299), S.Karouzou, *Eth.mouseion, sylloge glypton* (1967) fig.50 b; ici Fig. 14.

8. relief votif, de Rhamnonte, reconstruit par B.Ashmole: a) ex Gandy Deering, British Museum, H.K.Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4.Jh.* (1938)pl.22.4, *Nederlands Kunsthist Jb* 5 (1954) 92-93; b) Athènes 2331, Svoronos 139; c) tête, Athènes, jadis incluse dans le lot des fragments attribués à la base d'Agorakritos, *Ned Kh Jb* 10 (1959) 1sq.1-2; les trois parties réunies: AJA 66(1969)pl.59.

9. hermès drapé d'éphèbe, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 313; Eph 1891 pl.7, J.Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte* (1954)pl.45.1; ici Fig.15.

10. tête d'éphèbe, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 317; RA 1913 I 275.4, *Delt* 1924/25 156.6; ici Fig.13.

III. LE MÊME ATELIER, INDÉTERMINÉ

11. relief votif, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 1384; Svoronos 39.2, EA 1240, Pouilloux 56.1; peut-être proche de Chairestratos (I).

12. relief votif, de Rhamnonte, Athènes 1397; Svoronos 58, Pouilloux pl.43.3; peut-être proche de (II).

Malibu

18. Rappelons qu'un Chairédemos, peut-être fils de notre Chairestratos, est mentionné en 315/4-IG II² 2726

19. Cf. en dernier lieu E.Harrison, *Festschrift Brommer* (1977)156 n.15,157 (bibl.)

20. Cf. nr.3 *infra*

21. Cf. en dernier lieu E.Harrison, *Agora XI* (1965) 125

22. Cf. Eph.1917 41 nr.92

23. La statue de la prêtresse Aristonoé (de Rhamnonte, Athènes 232; Eph 1891 pl.5, J.Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte*, 1954, pl.60) était certainement sculptée dans le même atelier—vers la fin du 3ème s.(?) le bras rapporté est une réparation (ancienne) postérieure

Hypotheses on the History of the Crouching Aphrodite Type in Antiquity

Dericksen Brinkerhoff

Reinstallation in the Getty Museum of a Roman marble statue reproducing a famous Hellenistic bronze creation known as the Crouching Aphrodite affords a timely occasion for consideration of the type (Figs. 1–3).¹ This note reviews the ancient history of the theme of the crouching goddess, whose Renaissance sequel Selma Holo investigates in the above pages of this journal (pp. 23–36). The presence in the Getty Museum of two additional replicas enhances the opportunity for fruitful study. A well-preserved terracotta statuette of the second century B.C. illustrates a slight variation of the pose (Fig. 5).² Another Roman marble copy recreates a late Hellenistic version representing Aphrodite kneeling as she dries her hair (Figs. 7–9).³ Advances in our knowledge make it possible now to proceed beyond the basic study by Reinhard Lullies, which yet remains a valuable point of departure and whose listing of over two dozen replicas indicates the significance of the original.⁴ Most important has been the loss of external evidence supporting a date for the original in the middle of the third century B.C. through the rejection by Andreas Linfert of the century-old emendation of Pliny (N.H. 36.35–36) that led to the invention of one Doidalsas as the sculptor.⁵ Recently Peter Blome has made clear that further investiga-

tion of a Roman sarcophagus relief displaying the crouching motif can help illuminate its antecedents.⁶ This essay examines the Getty version of the Crouching Aphrodite, attempts an explanation of the sources and development of the theme that accounts for the differences between the replicas, and concludes with a proposal for a new date.

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE STATUES IN THE MUSEUM

The Getty Crouching Aphrodite (Figs. 1–3) has now been cleaned thoroughly and had its restorations removed by the late David Rinne, former Conservator of the museum, under the supervision of Dr. Jiří Frel, Curator of Antiquities, who reset the head, now proven to belong with the body.⁷ Eyes, lips, hair and nose had been cleaned with some reworking in 1958.⁸ In spite of weathering, face and hair now reveal traces of *sfumato* technique in their soft indistinctness, and parts of the body retain a bit of their original polish. The cleaned marble shows occasional blue-gray streaks, although not enough to be called Proconnesian, and a visible crystalline structure, suggesting a provenience in coastal Asia Minor. The replica measures about one-fifth over life-size, 1.15 m., the scale of most of the copies and hence

1. I want to acknowledge the support of the University of California at Riverside Academic Senate Committee on Research. Acc. no. 55.AA.10. *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum: the larger Statuary, Wall Paintings and Mosaics*, by C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg with additional Material by H. Lattimore ([Malibu] 1973, hereafter *Catalogue*) no. 19.

2. J. P. Getty, with additional text by J. Charbonneaux, *et al.*, *The Joys of Collecting* (New York, 1965) 66–67.

3. Acc. no. 71.AA.455. *Catalogue*, no. 20.

4. *Die kauernde Aphrodite* (Munich, 1954, hereafter KA, 10–17. The additional copy cited, p. 17, that would have become No. 28 had Lullies believed it extant, survives. See C. C. Vermeule in *AJA* 59

(1955) 149f., pl. 46, figs. 29f., on “the long-lost Lely Venus,” still in the British royal collections and now on loan to the British Museum.

5. “Der Meister der ‘kauernden Aphrodite,’” *AM* 84 (1969) 158–164.

6. “Begram und Rom: zu den Vorbildern des Aktaionsarkophages im Louvre,” *AntK* 20 (1977) 43–53, pls. 11–13.

7. L. Sangermano, G. E. Miller, and D. L. Bunker, “Chemical Analysis of Marble Sculptures: Crouching Aphrodite and the Westmacott Jupiter in the J. Paul Getty Museum,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 5 (1977) 149–154.

8. *Catalogue*, no. 19, p. 11 and n. 5.

Figure 1. Crouching Aphrodite with Eros, after recent conservation. Malibu.

Figure 2. Right profile of former restoration.

Figure 3. Left profile of former restoration.



presumably of the original.⁹ The figure lacks only the right arm below the shoulder, left forearm and foot, and part of the right foot. Behind and to the right of the Aphrodite stands a diminutive Eros, now headless, whose torso and upper right leg survive along with both arms and hands, the left stretched up along the back of the deity, the right extending forward around her right hip. Whether the Eros, absent from some of the replicas, formed part of the original or was a copyist's addition is a question dealt with below.¹⁰ The swan, compressed beneath the statue's left side, can be explained best as a support, added by the copyist to support a marble replica of a bronze original, for its presence detracts from the tensile quality of the pose.¹¹ The serpent-shaped helical bracelet, an *helix*, seen on the upper

left arm, is probably an original attribute, associated with the goddess ever since Homer (*Il.* 18.401) and worn also by mortals to renew their fortune just as the snake, shedding its skin, renews itself.¹²

The goddess (Fig. 1) supports herself on the toes of her right foot, her right knee bent double so she sits on her right heel. The left leg bends sharply also, but inclines upward enough so the now missing left foot rested solidly on the ground. To maintain her equilibrium, Aphrodite leans forward, her arms crossed in front of her, left elbow braced on raised leg below. In complete replicas the right arm extends around the face, which it serves as an enclosing visual foil, and the right hand adjusts the coiffure behind the left ear.¹³ Some strands of hair flow back over the ears to end in a chignon at the nape; other

9. Lullies KA, 17ff.

10. Sec. 2, p.

11. Lullies, KA 49, with a list of different supports displayed by the copies, reinforcing conclusion that copyists added them; cf. E. Künzl, *Frühellenistische Gruppen* (Cologne, 1968) 104f.; only (?) advocate of

marble original, G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren* (Jdl "Ergänzungsheft," 15; 1942) 222f.

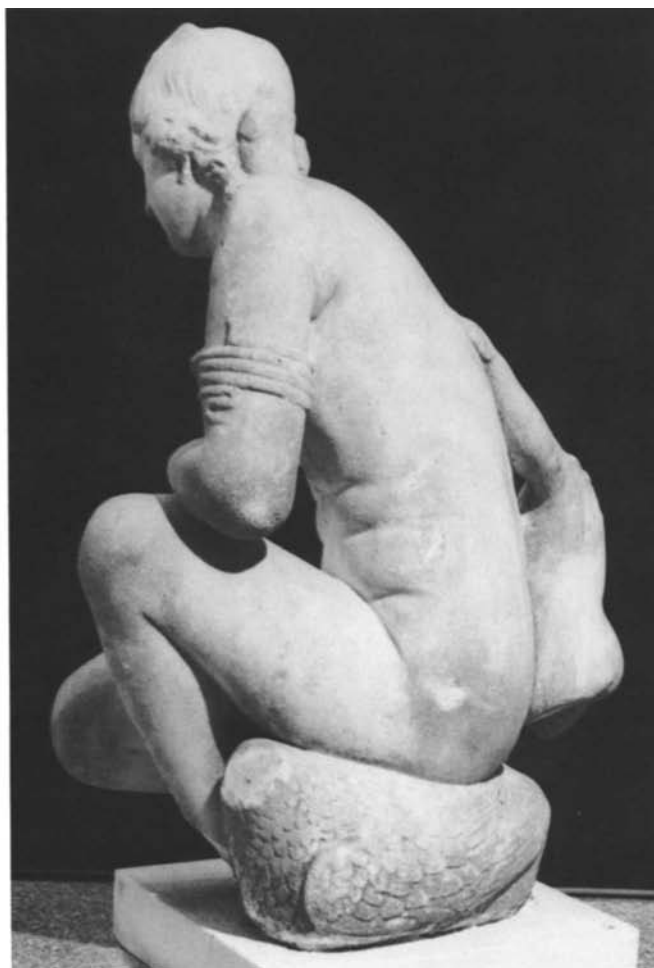
12. DarSag, s.v. *armilla*.

13. Indicated most reliably by a bronze statuette in Copenhagen, Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg 51; Lullies KA figs. 13f., after EA 3788f.



locks rise to a bow, now weathered, crowning the top of the head, whose downward inclination and rightward twist complete the dynamic chiasma of the figure.

The statue, when considered as a Roman copy, reveals the date of its manufacture. Its coiffure resembles that on a Getty Museum bust notable for its limpid freshness of feature portraying the empress Sabina. The arrangement of hair at sides and back is a Neoattic coiffure also fashionable in the succeeding Antonine age (Fig. 4).¹⁴ Since the marble of the Sabina has also been identified as Asiatic, the representations of empress and goddess may have come from the same region, but the Aphrodite's more mundane modelling indicates its later date. The statue probably predates, however, the late second century vogue for defining the hair with extravagant use



of the running drill to create deep channels separated by struts, as on a head of Apollo in the museum.¹⁵ The Getty Crouching Aphrodite fits best in the third quarter of the second century A.D.

In contrast to the marble replicas, the terracotta in the collection is an original work of art (Fig. 5).¹⁶ The statuette measures 22.2 cm. high and is complete except for the tips of the fingers of both hands. Its balanced position and light clay material, cast hollow, make unnecessary any external support in the form of attributes, yet an identification as Aphrodite stems easily from the resemblance to the statue type. In contrast to the marble, the pose of the terracotta is more vertical, and the conception in general is less tightly knit. The left elbow hangs airborne a bit beyond the line of the left leg,

14. Acc. no. 70.AA.100. *Catalogue*, no. 64. Similar coiffure with diadem and chignon on coins of Faustina II while living and following her death in 175/6: H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage III* (London, 1962) pls. IV, 95; XI, 218, 224, with veil replacing diadem, 229, 232.

15. Acc. no. 58.AA.2 *Catalogue*, no. 6: better illustrated in color in J. P. Getty, *Joys of Collecting*, 79, there labelled "a fine replica of the Capitoline Aphrodite."

16. Acc. no. 57.AD.9. Illustrated in color in J. Paul Getty, *Joys of Collecting* (1965), 67.



Figure 4. Bust of Sabina. Malibu.



Figure 5. Terracotta statuette of Aphrodite. Malibu.

and the right arm defines a gracefully rounded curve to the left shoulder. The shielding position of the right hand and the pudica gesture of the left look very like derivations from the Venus Medici, dated by some at the turn of the fourth century B.C., by others in the second.¹⁷ The head of the Getty statuette, bent and turned to its right, an oval volume beneath a close cap of hair bound with a fillet, recalls the head of Aphrodite on the large frieze of the Pergamon altar, now rejoined to its body by means of a cast reproducing the original head in Istanbul (Fig. 6).¹⁸ Both heads have similar coiffures, and despite differences in scale and pose, both bodies incline forward with the same gentle curve. Significantly, the absence of abrupt accents encourages the eye to move evenly over the interconnecting surfaces of each, betraying a conceptual kinship. As a work contemporary with or slightly later than the frieze, the statuette fits into the second quarter of the second century B.C.

The third Crouching Aphrodite and second marble replica in the collection records a late Hellenistic variation of the theme (Figs. 7–9). This statue has lost its left arm, right forearm, and head, hence it was once taller than its present 97.8 cm. The left leg projects forward and rests on a tiny stool under the knee, while the right inclines upward, reversing the pose of the other two figures. The slim torso twists nearly a quarter-turn, with enough torsion to bring the right elbow inside the elevated right knee. The best known example of this variation comes from Rhodes (Fig. 10).¹⁹ It shows how when complete the arms of the Getty figure flanked the statue's head, hands holding locks of hair to either side. The pose of the Malibu replica is a mirror-image of the Rhodian. Both replicas display the same extraordinarily highly polished surfaces, suggesting the goddess has just emerged from her bath, with water lending a glistening, nacreous sheen to her body.

This third Getty statue lacks much of the three-

17. Fourth to third: G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik, Handbuch der Archäologie* V, 3 (Munich, 1950: hereafter *HdArch.*) 312; B. M. Felletti Maj, "Afrodite pudica," *ArchCl* 3 (1951) 33–65; M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed. (New York, 1961; hereafter *SHA*) 20. Second: G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Classical Sculpture* (Greenwich, Conn., 1967) 332f. figs. 257f.; D. M. Brinkerhoff, "Figures of Venus, Creative and Derivative," in D. G. Mitten, et al., eds., *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971) 9–16; M. Robertson, *History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975, hereafter *HGA*) 548f., pl. 127c.

18. H. Luschey, *Funde zu dem grossen Fries von Pergamon* (116./117. "Winckelmannsprogramm der Arch. Gesellschaft zu Berlin," 1962)

dimensionality possessed by the first and second. It also carries the crouching pose to a somewhat contrived extreme with its angular visual accents. The long, slim torso of this figure finds ready parallels in late Hellenistic sculpture, supporting an attribution of the original to the second half of the second century B.C.²⁰ The replica in Rhodes, once considered Hellenistic, stands closer to the original than the Getty version, but it now seems likely also to be Roman.²¹ A similar dating fits the Getty piece, whose high polish recalls the finish associated with works from late Antonine Asia Minor and the school of Aphrodisias. Its reversed pose and unusually large scale suggest it may have been one of a pair, manufactured as matching pendants²² for a large nymphaeum or bath.²³

2. SOURCES OF THE CROUCHING POSE AND OF THE EROS

Clearly, each of the three versions of the Crouching Aphrodite theme just discussed served in some measure as prototype to the next. What works, then, lay behind all of them? When Lullies sought an archetype, vase paintings of the later fifth century showing crouching nymphs or mortals bathing led him to suppose that the motif must have first appeared in a wall painting of the classic age.²⁴ Yet in seeking a scene of a bathing goddess, he found no Aphrodite but an Artemis. He identified the crouching figure shown on a lekythos in Berlin as Artemis from the presence of a fawn and tree, indicative of her sylvan haunts (Fig. 11).²⁵ His discovery is not so surprising, for a nude bathing goddess constitutes a crucial element in the myth of Artemis and Actaeon. Lullies suggested the figure of Eros seen showering the Artemis on the lekythos referred to the Actaeon myth, but pursued his search no farther. He knew of the depiction of the myth on a Trajanic sarcophagus, but he dismissed its reliefs as evidence of Greek antecedents because he believed they derived from Pompeian



Figure 6. Aphrodite on the Altar of Zeus, Pergamon. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

painting.²⁶ Blome's recent reexamination of the Artemis and Actaeon sarcophagus treats its reliefs as a reflection of a Polygnotan pictorial prototype of the fifth century.²⁷ On the right front of the sarcophagus, set inside the curve of a garland, the figure of Artemis appears, kneeling in left profile and flanked by two Erotes assisting her to bathe (Fig. 12). The goddess looks backward so sharply as to leave no doubt that she has seen Actaeon, whose figure, scaled smaller, appears in the upper right

1-12, figs. 1-8.

19. Getty acc. no. 71.AA.455. G. Merkur, *Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes* ("Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology," 40; Göteborg, 1973) no. 2, pp. 25f. and references there cited.

20. Bieber SHA, 133; R. Lullies, *Greek Sculpture*, rev. and enl. ed. (New York, 1960) p. 106, no. 273.

21. Merkur, *loc. cit.*

22. C. Vermeule, "Graeco-Roman Statues: Purpose and Setting I," *BurlMag* 110 (1968) 545-558, figs. 1-24; *Catalogue*, no. 12.

23. A terracotta statuette from Myrina may also reproduce the Rhodian variant. Musée du Louvre, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et*

reliefs en terre cuite grecs et romains II: Myrina, by S. Mollard-Besques (Paris, 1963) 19, no. 2.

24. Lullies KA, 56ff., figs. 37-39.

25. Berlin 2707: Lullies KA 58, fig. 39; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963, hereafter ARV²) 1326, no. 70; *idem*, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971) 468, no. 70; A. Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke* 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1965) 49, figs. 58-59.

26. Lullies KA, 88f.

27. Blome, *AntK* 20 (1977) 45.

Figure 7. Crouching Aphrodite. Malibu.

Figure 8. Rear view of Figure 7.

Figure 9. Right profile of Figure 7.

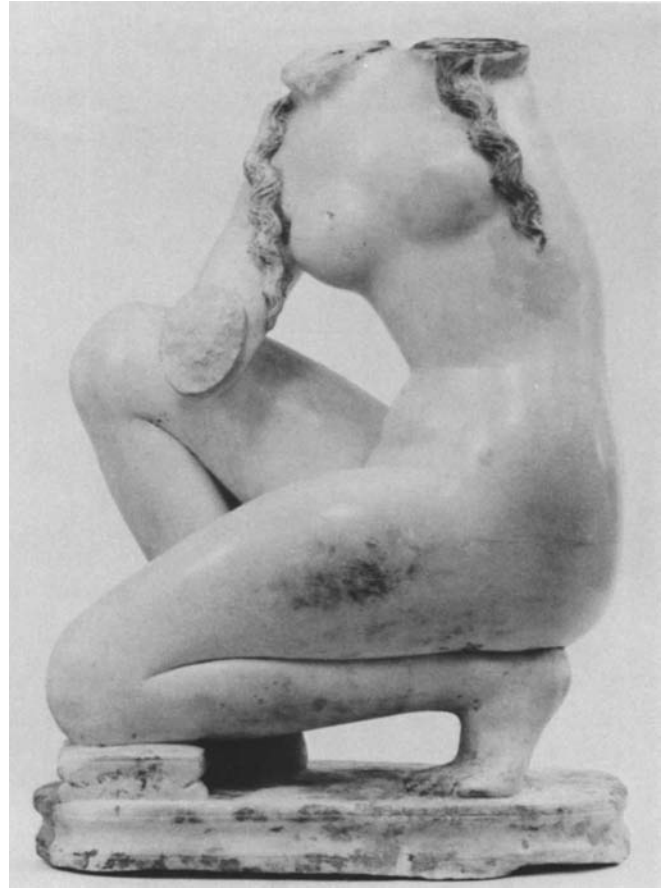
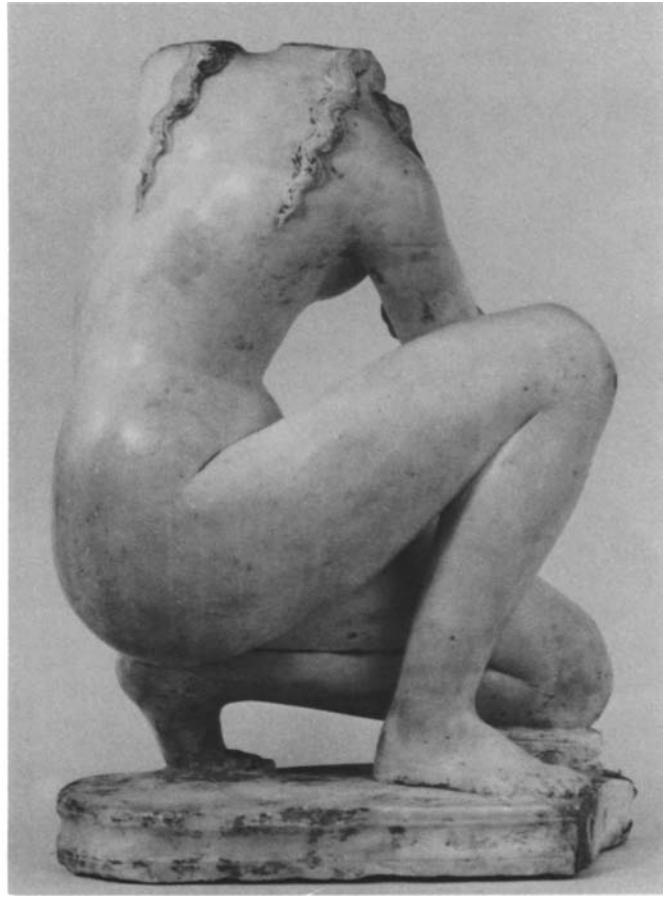
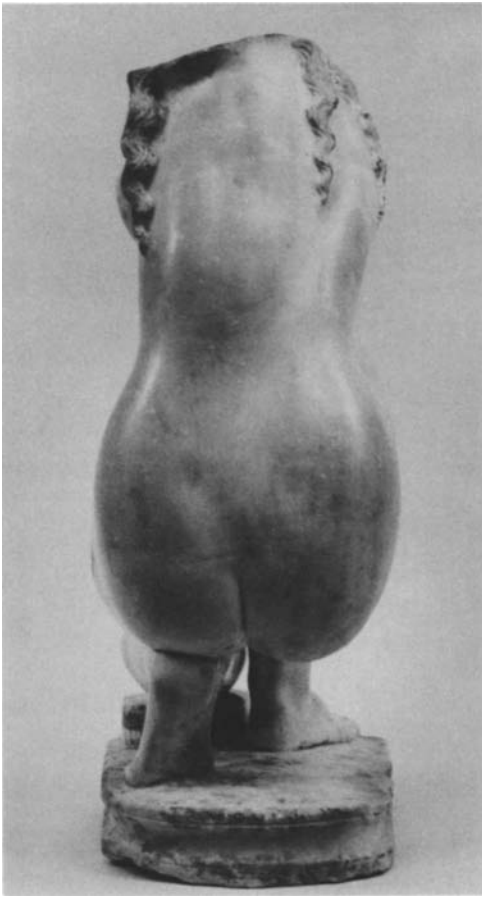


Figure 10. Crouching Aphrodite. Rhodes.
Photo: Alinari.

corner. That hapless mortal, right hand raised in fateful recognition, is visible chest-high in a rocky landscape. Still smaller in size, a figure of a river god appears in the upper left corner, personifying the source of the stream flowing through the glade. The position of the figures thus follows a graduated system of placement in which lower and larger indicates nearer and higher, and smaller more remote, the basis of western pictorial spatial representation. Descriptions of paintings by Polygnotos, such as those Pausanias (10.25ff.) saw at Delphi, locate the figures above, below, or beside their companions in a similarly calculated spatial arrangement. To the degree that the sarcophagus relief partakes of such disposition, it reflects a fifth-century composition and may well preserve the prototype Lullies sought.

Undeniable resemblances link the modelling of the Artemis in the sarcophagus relief to that of the Crouching Aphrodite type, especially in the Malibu, Vienne, and Naples replicas.²⁸ All show an identical protuberance

28. Lullies KA, 10 ff., no. 1., figs. 4-5 (Vienne, Inv. 2240 in Louvre), no. 16, fig. 15 (Naples, Inv. 6293), and references cited.



of flesh over the hipbone in the contour of the lower back. All possess the same heavy abdomen defined and bounded at waist and hip by similar creases. The hair of the Artemis differs only slightly from that of the Getty Aphrodite, its bow a bit further forward, but showing the same long tresses running from front to back along the head and partially concealing the ears. The lock in front of the ear is not discernible on the abraded surfaces of the Malibu statue's face, but it occurs on better preserved replicas like that in Naples. There seem to be too many distinctive similarities to ignore or explain as copyists' idiosyncracies, although the taste of the second century is surely responsible for some of them.

On the sarcophagus relief (Fig. 12), the two putti flanking the representation of Artemis raise the question of whether or not the original sculpture included an Eros. From the arrangement of the Getty replica, at least, it looks as if the artist found a source for Aphrodite's companion in the same work. To turn the putto

behind Artemis into the Eros behind Aphrodite, the artist needed to do little more than omit its amphora, adjust its arms and relocate it tangent to the goddess in his composition. Lullies thought an Eros belonged, and in his restoration of the proposed original the Eros holds a mirror in his right hand, but in the Getty copy the complete, empty and unrestored hand of the Eros lies flat against the goddess's body.²⁹ An Eros was present in the examples in Paris from Vienne and Tyre, each now preserving only a left hand on Aphrodite's back, and in the specimens in Naples and Malibu.³⁰ These four replicas, each including an apparently identical Eros, seem standardized products, all perhaps from the same Antonine workshop in Asia Minor. To suppose their two-figure composition reproduced the original Hellenistic creation, however, runs counter to the evidence of the other copies. The twenty-seven marble replicas listed by Lullies include five with Eros on the right as in the Getty piece, plus two

29. *Ibid.*, 38, fig. 1; Künzl, *Früh. Gruppen*, 104.

30. For example from Tyre (Louvre Inv. 2241), Lullies KA, 11, no. 2; for others, *supra* no. 28.



Figure 11. Acorn lekythos with Artemis bathing. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



Figure 12. Detail of sarcophagus with scene of Actaeon spying on Artemis. Paris, Louvre. Photo: Marburg.

with him on the left, and three in which he stands behind Aphrodite.³¹ Thus seventeen copies have no Eros figure at all, or give no indication that a companion was ever present because they are incomplete.³² Small bronzes reproducing the Crouching Aphrodite show no evidence of including an Eros, and the completeness of the image they present encourages the supposition of a single original figure in that metal.³³

Among the marble representations without Eros, the Crouching Aphrodite from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli ranks high for the freshness and naturalism of its modelling of face and figure (Fig. 13).³⁴ With its sharply turned head set on an unbroken neck, it may be interpreted as a fine approximation of the supposed bronze original. The inconspicuous brace beneath its body strengthens this suggestion. Should a recently proposed redating hold, the Tivoli replica may be an early imperial copy, but even if Hadrianic, it is still earlier than the less plastic Getty replica.³⁵ Thus the Getty replica varies still more from the original, for the addition of an Eros represents a further departure. The stimulus responsible for the inclusion of the Eros may well have been an early Imperial revival of the theme of Artemis between Erotes, so that, curiously, the copyists' source was the very archetype of the Crouching Aphrodite to whose replica they now attached it! The varied locations of the Eros beside or behind the Aphrodite are explicable as copyists' variations, produced in different workshops.

The theme of the Crouching Aphrodite on Roman coins from Asia Minor supports the interpretation of the history of the type. The first known issues, one each under Trajan, Sabina, and presumably Lucius Verus, show only Aphrodite, as do some of the Severan examples.³⁶ Then, one of the three known issues minted under Julia Domna shows the goddess with Eros, and an issue each of Caracalla and of Alexander Severus flank

31. Lullies KA, 10-17. Eros on right: nos. 1 (figs 4-5), 2, 5 (fig. 6, reproducing Getty piece as it was in Cook Coll., Richmond, when the Eros had a modern head), 16 (fig. 15) 19. Eros on left: nos. 4, 7 (fig. 8). Eros at rear: nos. 8 (fig. 9, Eros holds towel!), 18, 20 (fragments of towel!).

32. Replicas now total several more due to rediscovery of Lely Venus (supra n. 4) and discovery of several others cited by Vermeule, *Catalogue*, p. 11, which may repeat one or more of those listed by Lullies in private collections or art market, KA, nos. 25-27.

33. Supra n. 13.

34. Mus. Naz. Rom., Terme, 108 597: W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed. by H. Speier, III (Tübingen, 1969) no. 2292. Best illus.: H. Lauter, "Neues

the deity between two Erotes.³⁷ Thus the numismatic evidence suggests an original comprehension of the type as a single figure, followed by divergences that reproduce in lesser or greater degree the motif found on the sarcophagus.

3. VARIATIONS ON THE THEME

Although the pictorial original of the sarcophagus relief provided an archetypal pose that extended one knee and dropped the other, another nearly contemporary composition appears to have shown the crouching or squatting female figure balanced on her toes with legs together, as on the lekythos in Berlin (Fig. 11). The Marsyas Painter reworked the latter pose by raising one leg slightly, and, more importantly, gave the body a more believable torsion as seen in his depiction of Thetis courted by Peleus on a Kerch-style pelike now in London (Fig. 14).³⁸ The crouching Thetis shows a turned head, a twist to her body, and a raised left leg on which the left elbow rests, all foreshadowing the position of the Hellenistic statue (Fig. 7). The same pose appears with modifications on a number of gems, one of which in the Louvre iterates the attitude quite closely.³⁹ Both painted and glyptic figures exhibit a far more fluid articulation than that of the Artemis. They seem to establish the existence of a second basic pose.

Behind the Marsyas Painter's depiction of Thetis, Lippold sees an original painting that he would link with the Pompeiian mural of Achilles among the Daughters of Lykomedes.⁴⁰ We would suggest a similar original arrangement of the successive scenes of the spying and death of Actaeon, shown as pendants on the front of the sarcophagus and, on one side, the bewailing of his untimely end.⁴¹ Like the portrayal of Artemis, that of Thetis may reflect another painting of the fifth century, perhaps by Polygnotos himself. In the Pinakothek on



Figure 13. Crouching Aphrodite from Tivoli. Rome, Terme. Photo: Alinari.

the Athenian Acropolis, Pausanias (1.22.6) saw paintings that, "among those which time has not caused to grow faint," included one narrating how "Achilles dwelt among the Virgins of Skyros, which is the story Polygnotos has painted." The metamorphosis of Achilles, disguised as a daughter of Lykomedes, could have been paralleled by the metamorphosis of his mother Thetis, perhaps in a painting that had faded over the years. If so, the Marsyas Painter's Thetis and her pose seem traceable to a Polyg-

zum Mädchen von Antium," *AM* 86 (1971) 147ff., see pls. 74,2, 75,2, and 76 after *Deutsches Arch. Inst.*, Rome, Negs. 66.1682-84.

35. The Hadrianic attribution derives from provenience, the Augustan from the treatment of the hair, see *Lauter, ibid.*, 159, n. 27.

36. M. Bernhart, *Aphrodite auf griechischen Münzen* (Munich, 1936) 49f., nos. 299a, 300, 304, and 301-303, 310, all except first illus. on Pl. VIII.

37. *Ibid.*, nos. 305, 307, 306, from Germanikopolis Paphlagoniae, Serdika Thraciae, Nikaia Bithyniae. Two additional issues, nos. 308-309, of Maximus and Philippus jun., revert to showing Aphrodite alone. Better illus. nos. 305-306, use: *Lullies KA*, figs. 32f.

38. London E 424: *Beazley ARV²*, 1475, no. 4, and p. 1695; *Beazley, Paralipomena*, p. 495, no. 4; P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *History of 1000*

Years of Greek Vase Painting (New York [n.d.]) 384, pl. XLVII.

39. Paris, Louvre Bj. 1050: J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (New York n.d.) 299, pl. 725, cf. 295, pl. 638.

40. G. Lippold, *Antike Gemäldekopien* (AbhMunich, phil. hist. Kl., N.F. 33; 1951) 72ff., pls. 60f.

41. J. Charbonneaux, *La sculpture grecque et romaine au Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1963) 217ff., no. 459, illus.; C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* III, 1 (Berlin 1897), no. 1; cf. K. Weitzmann, "The Origin of the Threnos," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (ed. M. Meiss; New York, 1961) 476ff., esp. 487-90, fig. 17.



Figure 14. Pelike with Peleus and Thetis, Marsyas Painter. London, British Museum. Photo: Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

notan source, perhaps near the Artemis.

The representation of a crouching nymph incised on the inside cover of a bronze mirror, presumably Corinthian and now in Berlin, is also of fourth-century date (Fig. 15).⁴² The pose of the female nature spirit bathing in a grotto contrasts sharply with the Thetis and its presumed prototype, but it appears to be a variation upon the conjectured original of the Artemis. The nymph crouches in left profile but has her near leg folded beneath her, though it does not touch the ground, while the far leg rises sharply, reversing and varying the attitude of Artemis but echoing an arrangement seen in some vase paintings.⁴³ The position of the raised hands in front of the head betrays an additional debt to the Artemis, in spite of the fact that Artemis's head was turned back to see the spying Actaeon. Here the hands

spread the nymph's hair not only to dry but also to foil a lustful satyr, leering from the mouth of the grotto. The scene seems a witty derivation from the painting of the Artemis myth.

Contemporary with these formal prefigurations of the Hellenistic Crouching Aphrodite statues, there appeared the first major representations of the goddess bathing, although not kneeling, in sculpture in the round and in painting. Pliny (34.50) conveys an idea of the fame of the well-known standing figure of the Aphrodite of Knidos when he praised it as "superior to all the works, not only of Praxiteles, but indeed in all the world." The inclusion in the composition of a loutrophoros did more than strengthen the marble figure it abutted.⁴⁴ Loutrophoroi were the vases used in Athens to store nuptial bathwater.⁴⁵ Hence, Praxiteles' image of Aphrodite bathing

42. W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (JdI "Ergänzungsheft," 14; 1942) 46, KS 59; J. Boardman, W. Fuchs, J. Dörig, and M. Hirmer, *Greek Art and Architecture* (New York n.d., hereafter GAA) 455 f. fig. 179.

43. Lullies KA 42, 57, 60, figs. 38, 42, and references cited. Pyxis, fig. 38, coll. the late Walter C. Baker, New York, apparently remained with

his widow and did not pass to the Metropolitan Museum as the museum kindly informed me, letter of 7 Oct. 77.

44. Robertson HGA, 390–94, pl. 127b.

45. The water came from the spring of the nymph Kallirhoe, whose sanctuary has been discovered: *ibid.*, 371 and n. 26.

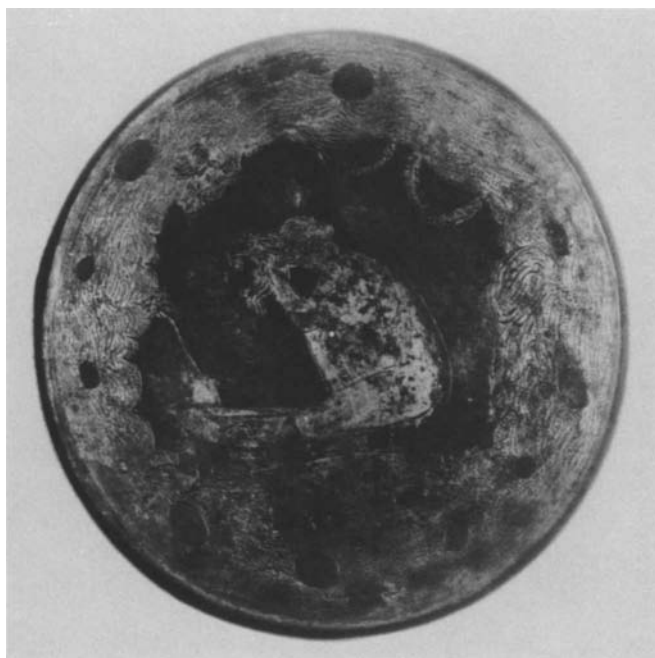


Figure 15. Bronze mirror cover with scene of Nymph bathing. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

became a reflection on the divine level of a mortal bride, an interpretation that an ancient observer may have given equally to the Crouching Aphrodite statues. Pliny also explained how the Knidia stood in its own shrine, open or openable to permit admiration of the masterpiece from all sides, a setting the Crouching Aphrodite may well have enjoyed too.⁴⁶

One of the most famous works by that most famous of Greek painters, Apelles, depicted c.332, an Aphrodite *Anadyomene*, "rising from the sea," whose dripping foam she was pressing from her hair.⁴⁷ The painting of Apelles has been proposed as the source of the later Hellenistic, two-dimensional and hence more pictorial, Rhodian variant of the Crouching Aphrodite.⁴⁸ It might be suggested rather that the painting at Kos derived from earlier depictions of bathers whose gestures it conferred

upon an Aphrodite and became itself a prototype for additional creations.

The first known image to anticipate in every respect the Hellenistic statues appeared within half a century of the creation of Apelles. The work incorporated the hair-drying motif of the *Anadyomene* and took the form of a statuette. The tiny masterpiece of early Hellenistic goldsmithing found in Thessaly surmounts the head of an elaborate garment pin now in the Benaki Museum in Athens, the whole only 16 cm. long (Fig. 16).⁴⁹ The figure crouches on a mussel shell, resting on a curiously inverted capital bearing on its abacus four Erotes, also upside down, who hold toilet objects. The goddess twists her torso, cocks her shoulders at an angle, and elevates both arms in a manner foreshadowing the Rhodian variant. The abrupt torsion and the out-sized head may

46. N.H. 36.20, but see Lucian, *Amores*, 13 f., by whose time the shrine seems to have had doors. Both quoted in J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece, 1400-31 B.C.* ("Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series," ed. H. W. Janson; Englewood Cliffs, 1965) 128ff.

47. M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929) 270 and references cited.

48. Robertson *HGA*, 557.

49. B. Segall, "Zum Export alexandrinischer Toreutik," in *Festschrift Eugen von Mercklin*, eds. E. Homann-Wedeking and B. Segall (Waldsassen, 1964) 163ff., pls. 57-62, see 57f.; reproduced in color in M. Andronicos, M. Chatzidakis and V. Karageorghis, *The Greek Museums* (Athens, 1975) 374, no. 3.



Figure 16. Gold figurine of Crouching Aphrodite on head of garment pin. Athens, Benaki Museum.

result largely from the technique employed to create the artisan's model. Analysis of finds from an early Hellenistic goldsmith's shop discovered in Egypt revealed how the craftsmen fabricated their models piecemeal from designs engraved on separate bronze sheets, each first hammered into relief and then assembled to create three-dimensional figures whose joins were consequently somewhat abrupt.⁵⁰ By combining designs from different sources, the crouching and the anadyomene motifs could have been fused in one figure to produce the model for a figurine like the Benaki statuette.⁵¹

Additional proof of the motif in *Kleinkunst* of the early Hellenistic age is provided by a small Alexandrian gold disc of ca. 300 that could have been an intermediate step, anticipating the ventures of goldsmiths into figurines in the round.⁵² On the disc Aphrodite crouches within an aedícula, an echo of the nymph framed in her

grotto on the mirror cover (Fig. 15). A suggestion that these miniature representations may reflect a cult image of Arsinoë II, assimilated after her death in 270 B.C. to Aphrodite, must remain speculative.⁵³ Adriani, who published the disc, has reaffirmed his opinion that the Rhodian variant dates from the second half of the second century before Christ.⁵⁴ Yet the conclusion that the kneeling motif appeared in small-scale sculpture in the decades around 300, not only in Greece and Egypt but elsewhere, draws support from a terracotta group of two crouching girls playing knucklebones, found at Capua but probably from Tarentum.⁵⁵

The examples surveyed above provide evidence for the development of the crouching pose from the fifth century to the Hellenistic period. It appears that post-fifth century representations of the pose, with their abrupt torsion and knees pointing sharply upward or down-

50. A. Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjub (Modelle eines hellenistischen Goldschmieds)* ("Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung," 2, Berlin, 1922) 12, 18.

51. A tiny early third-century bronze in the pose of the Benaki miniature figure and also surmounting a pin, found in Egypt and formerly in the Sieglin collection, might well have been such a model.

Segall in *Festschrift E. von Mercklin*, 167 and text-figure.

52. A. Adriani, L' 'Afrodite al bagno' di Rodi e l'Afrodite di Doedalsas," *AnnServAntEgypte* 44 (1944) 37ff., see 43 and text-figure 7.

53. Segall, *loc. cit.*

54. A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Ser. A., II



Figure 17. Bronze portrait identified as Arsinoe III. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale.

ward, inspired the later Rhodian variant rather than its large-scale predecessor, the Crouching Aphrodite. The creator of that statue derived relatively little from images developed after the fifth century. His primary debt appears to have been to Polygnotan painting, both to the Artemis and to the putative work on the Acropolis depicting the crouching Thetis. This insight becomes helpful as we seek to determine the context of the original bronze, which the numismatic evidence locates in Asia Minor. It may also compensate for the lack of a firm date occasioned by the loss of Doidalsas.

4. PLACE OF THE ORIGINAL IN HELLENISTIC ART

Pergamon, the capital city of the Hellenistic kingdom, was the greatest artistic center in Asia Minor. Pergamene artists cast long backward looks at Athenian masterpieces, such as those of Polygnotos, to create contem-

porary works characterized by originality coupled with complexity. Attalos I (241–197) initiated the great age of the realm when he trounced the marauding Gauls, who demanded continued tribute early in his reign.⁵⁶ The victory led the Pergamenes to compare themselves to the triumphant Athenians of the fifth century who had defended Hellenic civilization against the Persians. The triumph led also to the erection of commemorative statues featuring the defeated, the Greater Attalid Dedication, ca. 235–220 B.C.⁵⁷

The Crouching Aphrodite type shares features apparent in several figures of the Gallic victory monument, but in milder and hence presumably incipient form, suggesting an earlier, commonly accepted date of ca. 250–240 B.C.⁵⁸ It does partake of the naturalism of the famous statue of the Dying Gaul, and shares with it the similar lowered turn of the head.⁵⁹ The composition of

(Palermo, 1961) 27, text to no. 106, cf. 28f.

55. London, British Museum D 161: R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* ("Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology," London, 1967) 129, pl. 61A; cf. Boardman, Dörig, Fuchs, and Hirmer, *GAA*, 504, 506, pl. 281.

56. E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, 2nd ed. rev. "Cornell Studies in classical Philology," 36 (Ithaca, 1971) 28.

57. *Ibid.*, 301 ff., Robertson *HGA*, 531f., pls. 167b,c, 168b,d; Bieber *SHA*, 108f., figs. 281–83, 424f.; Lippold *HdArch*, 341f., pl. 122,1,2; Boardman, Dörig, Fuchs and Hirmer *GAA* 509, pls 288f.

58. Lullies *KA*, 26; Künzl, *Früh. Gruppen*, 101f.; Bieber *SHA*, 82f.; Lippold *HdArch*, 319.

59. Helbig, *Führer*⁴, II (1966) no. 1436.

the dynamic centerpiece of the group, showing a Gaul and his wife electing death before dishonor, spirals up from a broad base to a twisted apex, reversed by the opposing turn of the chief's head and articulated by his raised right arm.⁶⁰ The crook of the elbow frames the face below it, an inverted echo of the Aphrodite statue, whose arm helps frame the face above it. In greater and lesser degree the torsion of Gaul and goddess follow similar principles, but the latter appears more subtly sophisticated; it could equally well have either preceded or succeeded the rhetorical statues of the Gallic monument.

The Crouching Aphrodite should predate the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, for the relief of Aphrodite on the altar's large frieze has already been linked to the Getty terracotta statuette which itself derives from and therefore postdates the original Hellenistic bronze creation. Unfortunately, works in a style comparable to the Aphrodite like the crouching figure of a Scythian from the Marsyas group cannot be precisely dated.⁶¹ Yet there is one easily datable work comparable to the Aphrodite, a bronze portrait of Queen Arsinoe III, who reigned from 217 to 206–203 B.C. (Fig. 17).⁶² On the cheek of the bronze head appears a double curl of hair before the ear, a distinguishing feature appearing also on the head of the Crouching Aphrodite in the Terme (Fig. 13). Both heads also share sharply defined eyelids, an idiosyncrasy characterizing other representations of the queen.⁶³ Equally striking is the psychological kinship. Goddess and queen

alike show a calm and impassive dignity proper to transcendent deities and rulers. Such absence of emotion gives the Crouching Aphrodite a strong sense of inner concentration to balance the outer activity of tending the hair. It is that quality of detachment, reflecting the placid serenity of late fifth century masterpieces appreciated by the Pergamene artist, which does most to separate the original of the Getty crouching figure from the active intensity of the Gauls on the one hand and the graceful participation of the Aphrodite on the Pergamon altar on the other. Between those two works the goddess should take her place, linked closely with the Arsinoe III, sometime between 220 and 200 B.C.⁶⁴

So located the Crouching Aphrodite continues to postdate by one or more decades another work, datable only by style, with which the statue has often been linked. The most recent of many studies of the Maiden from Anzio discussed its prototype and concluded by suggesting once more that girl and goddess came from the same sculptor's hand.⁶⁵ We thus come closer to the creative personality to whom later artists stood in debt. The image he fashioned of Aphrodite crouching at her bath has many and varied prototypes in the history of Greek painting and sculpture. The sculptor of the Getty Crouching Aphrodite with its Eros created a version that took its place at the end of a series of replicas. In his own way he reworked the likeness he received, as masters of the Renaissance would rework the legacy they rediscovered.⁶⁶

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60. *Ibid.*, III (1969) no. 2337; Künzl, *Früh. Gruppen*, 118ff., pl. 18.

61. *Ibid.*, 128ff. and note 38; Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, *le sculture*, *Catalogo*, di G. A. Mansuelli, 2 vols. (Rome, 1958) I, 84ff., no. 55; cf. Lullies KA, 45f., fig. 34.

62. H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* ("Archäologische Forschungen," 2; Berlin, Deutsches Arch. Inst., 1975) 102ff., 182, no. L3, pls. 92f., 94, 1.

63. D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* ("Oxford Monographs on class. Arch.," Oxford, 1973) 87ff., 135, no. 30, 160, no. 109, 161f., no. 112, 169, no. 132.

64. Cf. Robertson HGA, 556f., pl. 178a, "later third century."

65. Lauter (supra n. 34) 159ff.

66. Cf. G. Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven, 1962).

Ideal "Portraiture" at the Outset of the Hellenistic Age

Cornelius Vermeule

Much has been written in general histories, handbooks, and special studies on the development of Hellenistic portraiture. Although the faces of men from Alexander the Great to the first Ptolemies have become well known, as well as the faces of the famous, deified early Ptolemaic queens, the idealized quasi-divine female portraits of the fourth c. B.C. to early Hellenistic Greek East need to be studied in greater depth. Two fragments of larger monuments, vastly different at first glance, form the basis of a short discussion on this theme. The first, carved out of Cypriote limestone around 325 B.C., has for a number of years ornamented the J. Paul Getty Museum (Figs. 1, 2). The second head, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was fashioned out of a dark, almost black, stone peculiar to Egypt. Its date is slightly more difficult to ascertain. At first, I had been inclined to place this veiled lady near the end of the Hellenistic period when the Romans were in Egypt and the strong revival of Attic classicism heralded the coming of the Augustan age and the Roman Empire. On further consideration, however, I favor a much earlier date—the first half of the third c. B.C. at the latest—based on the manifest relationship with Athenian grave stelai of about 320 B.C.

The two presentations of the divine or ideal female countenance provide an excellent comparison from two areas closely linked after 310 B.C. with the destinies of the Macedonian Ptolemies of Egypt. Furthermore, the

materials identify them firmly with their locales. The description of the two heads which follow shows that both relate to the same sources in monumental Attic (funerary) sculpture and therefore that both heads carry the early Hellenistic Greek ideal into the older worlds of Cyprus and Egypt.

WOMAN OR A GODDESS WEARING A DIADEM AND PENDANT EARRINGS: FROM A STATUE, VOTIVE OR FUNERARY, LATTER PART OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Her wavy hair falls in thick strands behind her ears. What remains is much weathered: the nose, lips, and chin have suffered, but not excessively so. The head came from a private collection sold at Sotheby's late in 1968.¹ The provenience is unknown, although the head is of the same type as a draped statue of a lady with attributes perhaps of Aphrodite, which ought to have been found near Salamis on the eastern coast of Cyprus, not too far from Amathos near Limassol along the island's southern coast, or in the hills southeast of Nicosia, at Idalion or Golgoi (Fig. 3). The Cesnola collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, includes a famous statue, either a votary or a representation of Aphrodite with Eros perched on her chest near the left shoulder, from the ruins of the temple of Golgoi, which gives an excellent idea of what the complete statue would have looked like.² A smaller statue of the same type and from the same atelier (belonging legally,

1. Accession no. 68AA20. Height: 0.362m. (14 1/4in.). White limestone. Sold at Sotheby's, London, 26 November 1968, no. 162. J. Paul Getty Museum, Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture, no. 50. (*Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum, The Larger Statuary, Wall Paintings and Mosaics*, Malibu, 1973, p. 24).

2. Compare L.P. di Cesnola, *Descriptive Atlas of Cypriote Antiquities*, I, Part 2, Boston 1885, no. 659; and, especially, no. 695, pl. CVII, the Aphrodite with Eros from Golgoi; also no. 1145, another head. The

Aphrodite with Eros is New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 74.51.2464: *Treasured Masterpieces of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Tokyo 1972, no. 37, with color plate. The goddess or votary, the crowned, veiled head of a lady from the L. P. di Cesnola collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (18)72.328, is M. B. Comstock, C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone, The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1976, p. 278, no. 447.



Figure 1. Divine Lady from Cyprus. Malibu.



Figure 2. Profile of Figure 1.

since the tragic events of August 1974, to the Hadjipro-dromo collection in Famagusta, Cyprus) can be connected with the Cesnola "Aphrodite."

The relationship, already intimated, to Attic grave stelai and votive statues in the Attic tradition of 350 to 325 B.C. dates the head in the Getty Museum towards the end of the fourth century B.C. The way in which the strands of hair rise to a divided peak over the forehead finds good imported parallels on Cyprus in the marble head of a goddess from the Palaestra of the Gymnasium at Salamis and the head of the small marble statue of Artemis found at Larnaka (Kition) and now in Vienna.³ The idealized, early Hellenistic head of a veiled lady with a fillet in her

hair, dated to approximately 280 B.C. and one of the noblest specimens of carving in Cypriote limestone to have survived to our times, forms the perfect transition from the Getty head, through the mainstreams of Aegean or western Asiatic Hellenistic sculpture, to the head from Egypt to be considered presently.⁴ The veiled lady, in a fine-grade Cypriote limestone, was excavated in a sanctuary at Arsos, just to the northeast of Golgoi (modern Athienou) and now stands in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (Fig. 4).

3. P. Dikaios, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, Third Edition, Nicosia 1961, pp. 94, 102, pl. 21, no. 2 (the lady from Arsos). Compare also, Sotheby Sale, 19 October 1964, p. 53, no. 161. Arsos head: Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I, Cambridge 1949, p. 220, pl. X; C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Cyprus, Art from Classical through Late Antique Times*, Boston 1976, p. 53, fig. 14.

4. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, Nicosia 1964, pp. 8–11, under no. 2, plates VIII, IX. Artemis of Larnaka: O. Vessberg, A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, Part 3, *The*

Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus, Stockholm 1956, p. 89, pl. X; C. Seltman, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates II, Cambridge 1928, p. 100, a. The pertinent Praxitelean workshop for the ultimate of this shape of head and hair style is discussed in *Bulletin, John Herron Art Institute*, XLVIII, No. 3, December 1961, pp. 39–46, in connection with the small marble Kore from the von Matsch collection, once also in Vienna and presumably from the Greek (Aegean) islands.

5. The opportunity to study and publish the head first occurred when it was in a European private collection. I am most grateful to the



Figure 3. Divine Lady from Cyprus, Idalion or Golgoi. Boston.



Figure 4. Lady from the Sanctuary at Arsos. Nicosia.

VEILED LADY OF IDEAL COUNTENANCE: SECTION FROM A COMMEMORATIVE ENSEMBLE OR LARGE STELE OF THE EARLY TO MIDDLE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

This striking sculpture must be the remains of a large sepulchral or commemorative stele representing a woman, perhaps even a Ptolemaic royal personage, conceived in the style of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. (Figs. 5, 6). The carving has been carried out in a dark stone (schist or marble). The head, found in the Fayoum, is said on excellent authority to have come years ago from Egypt. Although the cutting below the base of the neck has been somewhat damaged, it appears to have been fashioned for insertion in a larger, draped figure, perhaps

of another material such as white marble. Otherwise, it could have been set in a commemorative aedicula or funerary niche.⁵

The fourth century B.C. model for the veil, hair, and profile of the lady, in slightly-tilted, "emotional" reverse, can be seen in the stele of Eukoline in the National Museum at Athens.⁶ The head, facing in the same direction on an Attic relief of the period around 325 B.C., can be illustrated from the stele of Damasistrate, wife of Polykleides, in the same museum.⁷ The general Hellenistic style can be seen in two pieces in the Louvre: a tombstone of Menephila, daughter of Artemidoros, from Ephesos, and a veiled statue of a woman in the so-called "Pudicitia"

then owner and his associates for permission to pursue these researches and for certain essential information. H.: 0.445m. (17 1/2 in.). The stone is probably a very slightly darker shade of the same "gray" granite used for the "beautifully proportioned" (and finished) statue of the Middle Kingdom Lady Sennuwy, wife of the Egyptian governor of Kerma, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: W. Stevenson Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston 1960, pp. 87, 92, fig. 54. The "black lady" is now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession no. 1973.600. J.H. and E.A. Payne Fund:

Sculpture in Stone, p. 69, no. 109.

6. Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, IV, 2, Paris 1963, pp. 1365-1367, figs. 525 (the whole stele), 526 (detail of the veiled lady standing and bidding an emotional farewell, at the right).

7. Ch. Picard, *op.cit.*, IV, 2, p. 1365, fig. 524 (the majestic seated, veiled lady, the position of whose veil and the angle of whose head and neck correspond exactly with those of the dark lady from Egypt).



Figure 5. Lady in dark marble, from Egypt. Boston.



Figure 6. Profile of Figure 5.

pose. Both sculptures typify Hellenistic art at its height, as it developed from late Classical sources in Attica and western Asia Minor.⁸ An Attic grave monument, c. 330 B.C., most closely approaches the fourth century B.C. sources and Graeco-Roman parallels. The head and shoulders of the standing woman (now in the Museum of Fine

Arts, Boston) were reused and reworked in Roman times for functional or aesthetic purposes.⁹ Indeed, this type of noble, veiled matron in relief so high as to be statuary became a canon in the sepulchral art of Attica before 317 B.C. and in the Aegean or Asia Minor thereafter.¹⁰

The comparable sculptural experience for the dark lady

8. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1956, figs. 523, 525; 1961 edition, p. 132.

9. M. Comstock, C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Portraits, 470 B.C.-A.D. 500*, Boston 1972, no. 4: it is in direct accord with the theme of this article that this section of an Attic stele has been used as an introduction to Greek portraiture through two editions of this picture-book. Also: L.D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Cambridge (Mass.) 1925, p. 94, no. 42, *Sculpture in Stone*, pp. 48-49, no. 70.

10. Compare also, the magnificent head of about 320 B.C., from a large stele in the Attic tradition, from Tarentum and in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, Missouri: R.E. Taggart, *Handbook*, 1973, p. 36; and the veiled head from a monumental grave relief of the same date, in coarse Pentelic or island marble, at the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University (accession no. 1941.2). In addition, there is the veiled head of a lady from Chalkis, in Cincinnati, Ohio; the ensemble was carved in Pentelic marble, has been dated around 300 B.C., and evidently came from a funerary statue. See *Sculpture Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum*, 1970, pp. 42-43; accession no. 1945.66.

11. See G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Oxford 1954, pp. 98-99, no. 189, pl. CXXXII, d, e. The related "diorite" bust of Augustus, published as a Caius Caesar but explained iconographically by its Julio-Claudian date, is L.D. Caskey, *op.cit.*, pp. 196-198, no. 113, *Sculpture in Stone*, p. 207, no. 328.

12. See *American Journal of Archaeology* 60, 1956, pp. 330-331, pl. 108, figs. 18, 19, and the remarks on other early imperial portraits in dark marble or basalt. The diademed Arsinoë II in crystalline island marble, also brought from Egypt to the same collection (fig. 17), shows what a Greek from the islands (Chios?) would have carved when a Graeco-Egyptian (that is probably a Hellenized native Egyptian) was fashioning, in his traditional techniques of punching and finishing, the black and beautiful head in Boston. The same imported Hellenic authorship, in the best sculptors' white marble, holds true of the very ideal likeness of Berenike, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes, long in the British Museum from the W.R. Hamilton collection and now in private possession in New England, an exceptionally beautiful, once-veiled head of about 240 B.C.: *American Journal of Archaeology*, *loc.cit.*, p. 334, *Harvard Magazine*, July-August 1977, pp. 34-35, color pl. The

from Egypt among ideal male presentations is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It is a black basalt (diabase) fragment of a statue, over lifesized and perhaps a Roman copy of a Hellenistic ruler portrait or a Roman general presented in Hellenistic guise.¹¹ This fragment leads stylistically to the black schist bust of Augustus Caesar (ruled 27 B.C. to A.D. 14) from Italy in the Museum of Fine Arts, perhaps work of the early Julio-Claudian period or even as late as the Emperor Caligula, great-grandson of Augustus who ruled A.D. 37 to 41. The Mark Anthony (also a great-grandfather of Caligula) from Kingston Lacy, in similar material, connects these portraits directly with late Hellenistic Egypt, since this head (or bust) was also found there, testifying to Roman imperial and imperial admiration for noble, idealized portraiture in Egyptian materials.¹²

From the same Graeco-Egyptian-Cypriote artistic milieu, as late as the Hadrianic period of the Roman Empire, comes the statue (in "grey marble") of a lady found in the Gymnasium at Salamis and related to types of Persephone.¹³ The face, neck, hands, and feet were evidently fashioned in white marble; the back was worked in the same rather flat fashion in which the off sides of the bust from the stele or very high relief of the dark lady from Egypt were finished.

Connections with Graeco-Roman Egypt for this type of late Hellenistic sculpture, in colored stones, can be further evidenced from the cipollino crocodile, found alongside the pool (the "Nile") of the Canopus of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.¹⁴ The reclining river god in grey marble, suggested as the local river Pedieos and a

pendant to the Oceanus (the Mediterranean), both from the Gymnasium and its baths at Salamis on Cyprus, shows how decorative sculpture in these materials could be fashioned in areas of the Greek East closely allied with Egypt. Like the veiled lady in dark and white marble from Salamis, these river gods were probably carved in the late first or early second century of the Roman Empire.¹⁵ Inclusion of the grey marble Sarapis with Cerberus in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (England) from the Gymnasium complex at Salamis with these statues further emphasizes their Egyptian historical and Graeco-Egyptian cult connections, as Jiří Frel has pointed out.¹⁶

The problems of color combinations in marble and various other stones, so well brought out in the sculptures at Salamis, is one which greatly influenced Greek sculpture and sculptors of the late Hellenistic and imperial periods. The centaurs in the Museo Capitolino in Rome and even the recent, excavated finds in southwest Asia Minor confirm that this taste, these experiments, came to be as much a part of the so-called school of Aphrodisias as they were of Ptolemaic and imperial Egypt. Usually, as at Salamis, draped statues were in dark stone and the extremities were carved in white marble, but here, in the "bust" of the stele or commemorative monument from the Fayoum, we have a possible instance of a veiled head carved in dark stone, while most of the body may have been of another material, in turn perhaps colored with gilding or paint. A fragment of a statue from Italy, in the Museum of Fine Arts, possibly a satyr or a centaur, even mixes the colors in

pointed, "ski-slope" nose of Arsinoë II can also be suggested in the profile view of the dark stone head published here. This face is just as possibly an idealization of a Ptolemaic queen as the royal Cypriote head at Malibu, the alert quasi-likeness also illustrated in these pages, could represent a regal lady from the house of Salaminian Nikokreon (331 to 310 B.C.) or one of his Cypriote contemporaries, such as King Pumiathon of Kition (361 to 312 B.C.). The Ptolemies of Egypt, it is remembered, terminated both dynasties by causing the deaths of these kings. The sculptural techniques and near-idealizations of these Hellenistic "portraits" became a standard expression of the Greater Greek world for four centuries after the first Ptolemies. To the period from 100 to 50 B.C., for example, belongs the head of an idealized man, who could be from the same form of monument as this stele, or commemorative ensemble. The man's face has some proto-naturalistic wrinkles, and the bust was worked for insertion in a draped figure. The head is in the British Museum (no. 1965: A.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, III, London 1904, p. 180, no. 1965, pl. XX). The dark lady in Boston has horizontal grooves for wrinkles on her neck; these are a tradition of much older Egyptian sculpture handed on through the Hellenistic Ptolemies into the veristic art of the later Roman Republic and the

Greek or Roman imperial period.

13. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, pp. 24-25, no. 15, pl. XXII.

14. W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, Fourth Edition, IV, Tübingen 1972, pp. 159-160, no. 3196 (Tivoli, Villa Hadriana, Museo). See also, generally, for the mixture of Graeco-Roman copies in various marbles and stones from this area: S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, Rome 1961, pp. 100-133.

15. V. Karageorghis, C. Vermeule, *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, pp. 33, no. 27, 33-34, no. 28, pl. XXXI, figs. 1 and 2. No. 27 is carved of "white marble with large crystals", while no. 28 is the river god carved in "grey marble."

16. See L. Budde, R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 31-32, no. 56, pl. 18. Professor Frel also connected the Salamis Sarapis with the statue of Isis or a priestess of Isis, body and drapery of grey marble, found in the Gymnasium: *Sculptures from Salamis*, I, pp. 26-27, no. 17, pl. XXIII, figs. 3 and 4.

one sculptured block, having part in marble that is nearly black and part in the same stone which is creamy white.¹⁷

CONCLUSIONS: IDEAL WOMANHOOD OR PORTRAITURE?

It is perhaps best to conclude that the head from Cyprus in Malibu and the head from Egypt in Boston are portraits in the sense that they represent people who lived, died, and probably patronized famous shrines or sanctuaries. By extension, the same might be said of any female in an Attic grave stele, but there is more individuality, more personality here than can be seen in the faces on most such stelai. When identifiable people emerge in the early Hellenistic sculpture of Cyprus and Egypt, notably the Queens Arsinoe and Berenike, their likenesses are based on idealizations no less removed from reality or naturalism than the Cypriote and Egyptian ladies compared here. Both the head in the Getty

Museum and the head in Boston are sculpturally more a part of Cyprus and Egypt than they are of the Aegean or the Asiatic Greek worlds. This is self-evident in the Cypriote head; the preference for punching or hammering rather than the chiselling and planing techniques which belong to the traditional arts of Egypt. Therefore, the dark lady, so strongly cast in a classic Greek mould, is as Egyptian as her counterparts are Cypriote.¹⁸

The two heads are as human, as humanistic, as they are ideal, placing them just as much in the world of Greece as many sculptures in Pentelic or island marble from the Hellenic heartland. That they represent ladies who moved in a Hellenized world gives them every reason to be classed as Greek portraits in stone, however far they first may seem to be from the naturalistic, veristic canons of portraiture in Egypt of the much more ancient kingdoms or in the eminent pan-Mediterranean world of late Republican and Imperial Rome.¹⁹

*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Boston College*

17. This fragment was acquired in America's centennial year, as a gift from the early art critic Charles C. Perkins (1823-1886), who collected in Rome with Thomas Crawford the sculptor in the 1840's. See *Sculpture in Stone*, p. 141, no. 222. A number of finds in and around the imperial city of Rome give ample evidence that such stelai or statues in dark stones were brought to the aeternal city to adorn the polychromatic architecture of the imperial period. U. Aldroandi, reporting on the excavations of 1554 in the Baths of Caracalla, mentions a draped statue of a woman in black marble: H. von Hülsen, *Römische Funde*, Berlin-Frankfurt 1960, pp. 46-47; C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*, Ann Arbor 1977, p. 113, nos. 24, 25.

18. The arts of two vital parts of the Ptolemaic kingdom, the large eastern Mediterranean island and the Graeco-Egyptian cities along the Nile, fused under Alexandrine Hellenistic influences in the later Ptolemaic and Greek imperial periods. It was then and thus that dark marble statues in the Hellenistic idiom came to find their places in the sculptural decoration of the Flavian to Hadrianic Gymnasium at Salamis, or ultimately in the palaces and bathing establishments of imperial Rome. Graeco-Egyptian votaries and mythological sculptures (statues and reliefs) in Cypriote limestone were produced at Soloi in northwest Cyprus as late as the Constantinian era, the first quarter of the fourth

century A.D. The famous standing statue known as the "Lady from Soloi," of the Tetrarch period and in the Cyprus Museum, combines the art of the Cypriote head in the Getty Museum with the idealized "portraiture" of the dark lady in Boston, and also with the iconography of sculpture in Ptolemaic Alexandria or Greek imperial Cyrene. Cypriote love of decorative detail, seen in the jewelry worn by the divine lady at Malibu, and the Late Antique preoccupation with random symbolism from the Isiac Graeco-Egyptian past all combined to give the "Lady from Soloi" her unusual costume of headcloth, "cuirass," and skirt enriched with embroidered "panels": P. Dikaïos, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, p. 127; A. Westholm, *The Temples of Soli, Studies on Cypriote Art during Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Stockholm 1936, pp. 100-101, no. 319, pls. XXI, XXII.

19. Bernard Ashmole, Mary Comstock, Burton Fredericksen, Jiří Frel, Vassos Karageorghis, Emily Vermeule, Florence Wolsky, and William Young have helped me with the ideas and information presented here. I should like to offer this paper as a tribute to the memory of Jean Charbonneaux, who knew so much and wrote so eloquently about Greek portraiture and the Hellenic ideal out of which this art was created.

Ein Sarkophagfragment mit dem Kampf bei den Schiffen in Malibu

Guntram Koch

Kürzlich hat J. Frel im J. Paul Getty Museum einen Raum neu eingerichtet, in dem vor allem kaiserzeitliche Grabmonumente, Aschenurnen und Sarkophage, aufbewahrt werden. Unter ihnen fällt ein kleines, fast unscheinbares Fragment auf, das eine Höhe von 0.37 m und eine Länge von 0.28 m hat (Abb. 1); über seine Herkunft ist nichts bekannt.¹ Es ist auf allen Seiten unregelmäßig abgebrochen, die Oberfläche ist beschädigt und verwittert; die Brüche müssen alt sein, da auch die Flächen verfärbt sind; es besteht also keine Aussicht, daß noch anpassende Stücke bekannt werden. Die Art der Verfärbung spricht dafür, daß es sich um pentelischen Marmor handelt, von den charakteristischen Glimmerschichten ist allerdings nichts zu sehen.

Auf den ersten Blick sind der Teil eines Schiffes, der Kopf eines Tieres, vielleicht eines Hundes, der Kopf eines Fisches und verschiedene Hände zu erkennen. Eine

Deutung dieser Reste wäre kaum möglich, wenn wir auf das Fragment allein angewiesen wären. Nun gibt es aber Parallelen unter den kaiserzeitlichen attischen Sarkophagen, und es zeigt sich, daß auch unser Fragment zu einem attischen Sarkophag gehört hat,² und zwar zu einem Beispiel mit dem Kampf der Griechen und Trojaner bei den Schiffen vor Troja.³ Gut erhalten ist ein großer Sarkophag in Thessaloniki (Nr. 12, Abb. 2), der die gleiche Figurenanordnung zeigt. Nach ihm lassen sich die Reste auf dem Fragment in Malibu ergänzen.

Nach links ragt hoch das Heck eines Schiffes auf, das sicher auch ein Aphlaston, die gebogene Heckzier, die sich oben auffächert,⁴ trug. Kiellinie und Rand des Schiffes sind profiliert; die Wandung ist mit ganz flachem, zartem Relief geschmückt, einem Delphin und einem Triton, der wohl in seiner linken Hand ein Schiffsruder hält und auf seinem Fischschwanz eine Nereide

1. Inv. 77 AA 67. Das Fragment wurde dem Museum von Gordon McLendon geschenkt. Für die Anfertigung von Photographien, Publikationserlaubnis, Auskünfte, Rat und Hilfen und die herzliche Aufnahme in Malibu sei F. und J. Frel auch an dieser Stelle gedankt. Ferner hat der Verfasser Emir M. Chéhab, G. Obeid, H. Sichtermann, H. Wiegartz und B. Zouhdi für die Überlassung von Photographien, Photoerlaubnis und verschiedene Hinweise zu danken.

Abbildungsnachweis: Abb. 1: The J. Paul Getty Museum. - Abb. 2: Inst.Neg. Rom 67.1811. - Abb. 3: Photo Verfasser. - Abb. 4: Inst.Neg. Istanbul R 646. - Abb. 5: Repro nach ASR III 3, S. 557 Abb. 146¹.

Folgende Abkürzungen werden verwandt:

B. Brenk, <i>Saloniki</i>	= B. Brenk, Spätantiker attischer Sarkophag in Saloniki, <i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> 21, 1972, 39 - 46
A. Giuliano, <i>Commercio</i>	= A. Giuliano, <i>Il commercio dei sarcofagi attici</i> , Rom 1962
C. Robert, ASR	= C. Robert, <i>Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs II Mythologische Cyklen</i> , Berlin 1890. III 1 - 3, Einzelmythen, Berlin 1897. 1904. 1919
K. Schefold, <i>Bilderbücher</i>	= K. Schefold, <i>Bilderbücher als Vor-</i>

lagen römischer Sarkophage, *Mél. École Franç. Rome* 88, 1976, 759 - 814

H. Wiegartz, *Myra*

= H. Wiegartz in J. Borchhardt u.a., *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole, Istanbul Forschungen* 30, Berlin 1975, 161 - 251

2. Dafür sprechen auch die Art der Gravierung der Brauen beim Delphin und das zarte Relief auf dem Schiffsheck, das viele Parallelen bei den Ornamenten attischer Sarkophage hat und sich beispielsweise auch als Matratzenmuster bei Klinendeckeln findet (vgl. hier Nr. 12, Abb. 2). - Zu den attischen Sarkophagen zuletzt H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 162 - 210 (mit umfangreichen Literaturangaben).

3. Die Sarkophage sind zuerst von P. von Biéńkowski, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*, Wien, 1, 1898, 18 - 27, und dann von C. Robert, ASR III 2, S. 367 - 371 zusammengestellt und kürzlich von H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 190 - 195, besprochen worden.

4. G. Rodenwaldt, *Röm.Mitt.* 35, 1920, 19 - 20. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, 46 Anm. 19; 86 mit Anm. 49; 108 Anm. 47; 116; 147 und beispielsweise Abb. 108 - 110. 114. 116. 119. 140.



Abb. 1. Sarkophagfragment. Malibu.



Abb. 2. Sarkophag mit Kampf bei den Schiffen. Thessaloniki. Photo: DAI, Rome.

reiten läßt.⁵ Im Schiff sind die Reste von zwei Männern erhalten, vermutlich von Achill, der mit seiner linken Hand, die unter dem Gewand liegt, in den Saum der Chlamys faßt, und von Patroklos, der Achill wie auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki umfaßt haben wird. Vor dem Schiff lagert eine weibliche Meeresgöttheit.⁶ Ihre rechte Hand legt sie auf den Hals eines Meeresungeheuers, eines Ketos, das den Kopf nach links richtet und möglicherweise wie auf dem Exemplar in Thessaloniki um die Göttin geringelt war. Die Finger einer rechten Hand auf dem Delphin gehören zu einer männlichen Meeresgöttheit, vielleicht wie auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki einem bärtigen Triton.⁷

5. Besonders prächtig ist der Schmuck auf dem Fragment in Venedig (Nr. 5); eine ähnliche Gruppe findet sich auf dem Fragment in Myra (Nr. 16). Vgl. H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 192.

6. Auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki hat sie Krebscheren auf dem Kopf, ebenfalls auf dem Sarkophag in Damaskus, auf dem sie auf der linken Seite angeordnet ist. In ihr Thetis zu sehen, wie K. Schefold, *Bilderbücher* 791 - 792, vorschlägt, liegt keinerlei Grund vor, da sie

Die erhaltenen Reste reichen also aus, das Fragment in Malibu als Replik des Sarkophages in Thessaloniki mit dem Kampf bei den Schiffen vor Troja anzusprechen. Derartige Sarkophagen sind nur unter den in Athen gearbeiteten sogenannten attischen Sarkophagen überliefert, und auch da nicht sehr zahlreich. Zwei Gruppen lassen sich fassen; die erste zeigt die Schiffe an der linken Seite und die Angreifer von rechts kommend; die zweite hat die Schiffe rechts und dementsprechend kommen die Angreifer von links. Mit dem Fragment in Malibu haben wir ein weiteres Beispiel für den zweiten Bildtypus, der Carl Robert, dem Bearbeiter des entsprechenden Bandes des Sarkophagcorpus, lediglich in einem kleinen Frag-

weder auf den Sieger der Mittelgruppe deutet, sondern ihre Hand auf dem Hals des Ketos liegen hat, noch in diesem Sieger Achill zu sehen ist.

7. Auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki (Nr. 12), dem in Damaskus (Nr. 2) und dem Fragment in Niš (Nr. 15) ist eine Art Blattkranz zu erkennen, der den menschlichen Körper vom Fischschwanz trennt.

ment in Triest bekannt war und deshalb von ihm nicht richtig gedeutet werden konnte.⁸

Bisher sind folgende Sarkophage und Fragmente mit einem Kampf bei den Schiffen vor Troja bekannt:⁹

GRUPPE I:

(Schiffe an der linken Seite, Angreifer kommen von rechts)

1. Tyrus: H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 Anm. 175. - M. Chéhab, *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie* Nr. 12, Sept./Oct. 1975, 41 (mit Abb.).
2. Damaskus, Nationalmuseum: aus Arethusa, dem heutigen Er-Rastan, 1977 gefunden; Kasten mit Klinendeckel, unpubliziert.
3. Zerstört: C. Robert Nr. VII Taf. B. A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 35 Nr. 92.
4. Tarent, Museo Nazionale: C. Robert Nr. I Taf. A. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 60 Nr. 370.
5. Venedig, Museo Archeologico: C. Robert Nr. II Taf. B. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 68 Nr. 451. - H. Sichtermann - G. Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf Römischen Sarkophagen*, Tübingen 1975, 67 Nr. 72 Taf. 176.
6. Heraklion, Museum Inv. 146: C. Robert Nr. VI Taf. A. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 53 Nr. 311.
7. Athen, Nationalmuseum: C. Robert Nr. III Taf. B. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 38 Nr. 136.
8. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico: C. Robert Nr. IV Taf. A. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 66 Nr. 421. - V.S.M. Scrinari, *Museo Archeologico di Aquileia. Catalogo delle Sculture Romane*, Rom 1972, 145 Nr. 413. Abb. 412. - H. Gabelmann, *Die Werkstattgruppen der oberitalischen Sarkophage*, Bonn 1973, 30 - 31 (Kopie nach attischem Sarkophag). 40. 206 Nr. 7 Taf. 4,2. - H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 Anm. 175.
9. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico: C. Robert Nr. V Taf. A.-A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 60 Nr. 373. - V.S.M. Scrinari (siehe Nr. 8) 145 Nr. 412 Abb. 413. - H. Gabelmann (siehe Nr. 8) 30 f. - H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 Anm. 175.
10. Rhodos, Museum: N. Himmelmann, *Sarkophage in Antalya*, Abhandlungen Akademie Mainz 1970 Nr. 8, 21. - H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 Anm. 175. - Unpubliziert.
11. Thessaloniki, Museum Inv. 1209: B. Kallipolitis, *Chronologike katataxis ton meta mythologikon parastaseon attikon sarkophagon tes Romaiques epoches*, Athen 1958, 22 f. Nr. 100. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 44 Nr. 215. - H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 Anm. 175. - Unpubliziert.

GRUPPE II:

(Schiffe auf der rechten Seite, Angreifer kommen von links)

12. Thessaloniki, Museum Inv. 1246: B. Kallipolitis (siehe Nr. 11) 23 f. Nr. 113 Taf. 3b. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 43 Nr. 214. - B. Brenk, *Saloniki* 40 - 46 Abb. 1 - 2. - H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 Anm. 175 und passim. - K. Schefold, *Bilderbücher* 790 - 793 Abb. 26. - Hier Abb. 2.
 13. Triest, Museo Civico: C. Robert, ASR III 3, S. 556 f. Nr. 146¹. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 68 Nr. 447. - H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 - 193. - Hier Abb. 4.
 14. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum Inv. 77.AA.67: Hier Abb. 1.
 15. Niš, Archäol. Museum, Inv. 178: F. Kanitz, *Denkschriften Akademie Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse* 41, 1892, 76 Abb. 52 (beim Abbruch eines Hauses in Naissus - Niš gefunden). - H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 Anm. 175. - Hier Abb. 3.
 16. Myra, Nikolauskirche: H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 190 - 195 Nr. 3 Taf. 92 A. - Hier Abb. 5.
 17. Damaskus, Nationalmuseum, linke Nebenseite des Sarkophages hier Nr. 2.
 18. Antalya, Museum Inv. A 265: linke Nebenseite eines Schlachtsarkophages. H. Wiegartz, *Gnomon* 37, 1965, 616 Nr. 17 - H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191. - Unpubliziert.
- FRAGMENTE, Deren Einordnung fraglich ist:
19. Leningrad, Ermitage: C. Robert Nr. VIII Taf. B. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 69 Nr. 456. - Nicht sicher, daß zu Kampf bei den Schiffen gehörend.
 20. Triest, Museo Civico: C. Robert, ASR III 3, 541 Nr. 455 Taf. 144. - B. Kallipolitis (siehe unter Nr. 11) 23 Nr. 103. - A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 68 Nr. 448. - Deutung nicht sicher.

Bei der ersten Gruppe gibt es zwei vollständige, vorzüglich erhaltene neugefundene Sarkophage, die noch nicht publiziert sind, die Exemplare in Tyrus (Nr. 1) und in Damaskus (Nr. 2). Mit ihrer Hilfe wird sich eine gute Vorstellung von dieser Gruppe gewinnen lassen.¹⁰

In die zweite Gruppe gehören die beiden verkürzten Nebenseitendarstellungen auf den Sarkophagen in Damaskus (Nr. 17) und Antalya (Nr. 18). Auf dem fragmentierten Stück in Antalya sprengt ein Reiter nach rechts gegen ein Schiff, in dem ein Verteidiger gestanden hat, der wohl mit beiden erhobenen Armen eine Waffe schwang, vielleicht eine Doppeltaxt. Unterhalb des

8. C. Robert, ASR III 3 S. 556 - 557 Nr. 146¹. Hier Nr. 13.

9. Zwei weitere Fragmente in Brescia und in Pola zeigen die Schlacht bei Marathon, H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 191 - 192.

10. Der Sarkophag in Tyrus ist lediglich einmal abgebildet; von M. Chéhab wird die Publikation vorbereitet. Vom Sarkophag in Damaskus machten G. Obeid und B. Zouhdi dem Verfasser Photographien



Abb. 3. Sarkophagfragment. Niš.

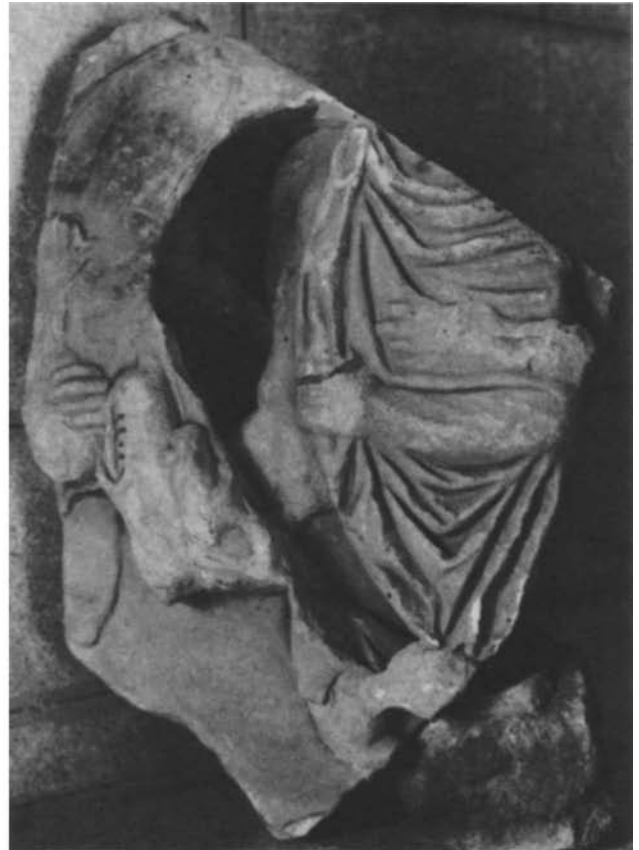


Abb. 4. Sarkophagfragment. Triest.

Schiffes sind im Wasser ein Ketos und ein Gefallener wiedergegeben. Auf der Nebenseite des Sarkophages in Damaskus stürmt ein Krieger, der nur mit Schild, Schwert und Helm bewaffnet ist, auf das Schiff zu, in dem ein Mann mit beiden Händen eine Waffe hält. Der Angreifer hat sein linkes Knie auf den Landesteg gesetzt. In den unteren Teilen finden sich im Wasser drei Erschlagene und ein Ketos.

Die Beispiele in Malibu (Nr. 14) und Triest (Nr. 13, Abb. 4) schließen sich mit dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki (Nr. 12, Abb. 2) eng zusammen und können nach ihm ergänzt werden. Wie bei den attischen Sarkophagen üblich, gibt es allerdings eine Reihe kleiner Abweichungen, die Hecks der Schiffe sind anders geschmückt, Achill und Patroklos stehen etwas anders in den Schiffen, und der Triton und die weibliche Meeresgotttheit sind einander unterschiedlich zugeordnet.

Die Überlieferung wird durch das stark beschädigte

Fragment in Niš (Nr. 15, Abb. 3) weiter gestützt; seine Herkunft ließ sich bisher nicht ermitteln. Es zeigt den Triton mit dem Delphin, das Schiffsheck, das mit einem Triton in flachem Relief geschmückt ist, im Schiff Teile eines Mannes, der weiter als auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki nach oben ragt, links dann ein zweites Schiffsheck - mit einem Delphin geschmückt - und im Schiff einen Krieger, der wohl in seiner linken Hand einen Schild trug, der nicht so weit an den Körper herangezogen war wie auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki. Auch dieser Mann ragte weiter aus dem Schiff heraus, die oberen Teile seiner Oberschenkel sind zu sehen. Zu diesem Schiff führt ein Landesteg, auf dem Reste einer weiteren Figur erhalten sind, vielleicht eines Kriegers, der von einem Angreifer erschlagen wird; zu vergleichen wäre wieder der Sarkophag in Thessaloniki (Abb. 2). Unten sind noch der Kopf und Teile von Oberkörper und vom rechten Arm eines Getöteten

zugänglich. Zur Gruppe C. Robert, ASR III 2 S. 361. H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 192. Die einzelnen Beispiele schließen sich trotz mancher Unterschiede

eng zusammen, so daß es möglich sein wird, die Vorlage annähernd zu bestimmen.



Abb. 5. Sarkophagfragment. Myra. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul.

erhalten.

Das Fragment in Myra (Nr. 16, Abb. 5) ist so stark beschädigt, daß sich nicht klären läßt, ob es eine vergleichbare Darstellung zeigte. Erhalten sind ein Schiffsheck mit Aphlaston, ein nach links gerichteter Krieger, der sich mit seinem Schild deckt, undeutliche Reste unten am Schiff, dann links, jedoch offensichtlich im Hintergrund, ein angreifender Krieger und etwas weiter unten, im Relief stärker hervortretend, eine Masse, deren Oberfläche völlig bestoßen ist; es muß offen bleiben, ob es sich um einen Griechen gehandelt hat, der wie auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki von einem hervorgeho-

benen Angreifer erschlagen wird.¹¹ Gegenüber dem vollständig erhaltenen Sarkophag in Thessaloniki wäre auf dem Stück in Myra vor allem verändert, daß das dritte Schiff fehlte und ein weiterer Angreifer in den Hintergrund gesetzt ist.

Für die Gruppe II hat also ein neuer Entwurf vorgelegen, ein Archetypus, der dann, wie es bei den attischen Sarkophagen auch bei anderen mythologischen Darstellungen immer wieder zu beobachten ist, in reichem Maße abgewandelt wurde.¹² Auch auf den Sarkophagen der Gruppe I finden sich viele Veränderungen; beispielsweise ist auf dem Sarkophag in Tyrus (Nr. 1) in den linken Teil, vor die Schiffe, ein Trojaner gesetzt, der einen gefallenen Kameraden hält, auf den anderen Sarkophagen der gleichen Gruppe ist er an der Stelle nicht vorhanden; im Typus klingt er an die großplastisch bekannte Gruppe von Menelaos und Patroklos, die sogenannte Pasquinogruppe, an;¹³ eine vergleichbare Gruppe findet sich auf dem Sarkophag in Damaskus (Nr. 2) im rechten Teil im Zusammenhang der Schlacht auf dem Festland.

Der Kampf der Trojaner gegen die Griechen, die zu ihren Schiffen zurückgedrängt sind, ist in der Ilias ausführlich geschildert, besonders eindrucksvoll der Höhepunkt des Kampfes im Buch XV, vor allem in den Versen 674 - 746. Bei den kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen kommt es nicht auf die genaue Erfassung eines bestimmten Augenblickes an, die Illustrierung einer Textstelle, sondern räumlich und zeitlich möglicherweise auseinander liegende, hervorragende und bedeutsame Ereignisse werden für den Fries zu einer eindrucksvollen Gruppierung zusammengesetzt.¹⁴

Achill, der größte griechische Held, hatte sich vom Kampf zurückgezogen, da ihm Agamemnon, der Führer der Griechen, seine Geliebte, Briseis, weggenommen hatte. Da gewannen, mit Hilfe der Götter, die Trojaner die Übermacht und stießen bis zu den aufs Land gezo-

11. Nur eine Untersuchung des Originals könnte vielleicht Einzelheiten klären.

12. Das läßt sich beispielsweise bei den Meleagersarkophagen der Gruppe II und III feststellen: G. Koch, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage - Meleager. Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* XII 6, Berlin 1975, S. 68 - 71.

13. B. Conticello - B. Andrae, *Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga, Antike Plastik* 14, 1974, 87 - 95.

14. Das ist auf Sarkophagen allgemein üblich, also keine ungewöhnliche Besonderheit des Exemplares in Thessaloniki, wie B. Brenk 40 anzunehmen scheint.

15. Daß keineswegs "nie Hektor die Hauptfigur eines Sarkophag-

reliefs" ist, wie K. Schefold, *Bilderbücher* 791, behauptet, zeigen die Beispiele der Gruppe I; denn dort kann es sich nur - wie auch K. Schefold angibt - um Gegner der Griechen handeln, der hervorgehobene kann dann wohl nur Hektor sein. - Der von H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 193, vermißte direkte Zusammenstoß von Aias und Hektor wird *Ilias* XV 415 - 418 geschildert.

16. O. Walter, *Archäol. Anzeiger* 1940, 263 - 264 Abb. 74. A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 44 Nr. 217.

17. Beispielsweise auf dem Schlachtsarkophag in Madrid, A. Giuliano, *Commercio* 57 Nr. 344, der linken Nebenseite eines unpublizierten Schlachtsarkophages in Tyrus, der Vorderseite eines weiteren

genen Schiffen der Griechen vor, ja es gelang ihnen sogar, Feuer an eines der Schiffe zu legen. Anführer der Trojaner war Hektor, der Sohn des Königs Priamos. Am tapfersten und erfolgreichsten verteidigte Aias die Schiffe, und ihn werden wir in dem hervorgehobenen Krieger im Schiff auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki (Nr. 12, Abb. 2) sehen dürfen, ebenfalls in dem Krieger auf dem Fragment in Myra (Nr. 16, Abb. 5) und dem im linken Schiff auf dem Fragment in Niš (Nr. 15, Abb. 3). Der gewaltige Angreifer auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki wird Hektor sein. Bei den Sarkophagen der Gruppe I ist Hektor verschiedentlich erhalten, immer stürzt er nach links, auf den Landesteg zu, und durchbohrt einen der Griechen mit dem Schwert. Die Überlieferung, die durch die Fragmente in Aquileia (Nr. 8 und 9) und Heraklion (Nr. 6) und den fragmentierten zerstörten Sarkophag (Nr. 3) gegeben war, wird durch die beiden Neufunde in Tyrus (Nr. 1) und Damaskus (Nr. 2) bestätigt. Bei den Sarkophagen der Gruppe II bringt die Nebenseite in Antalya (Nr. 18) einen Reiter, die Nebenseite des Sarkophages in Damaskus (Nr. 17) einen nach rechts stürmenden Krieger als Angreifer des griechischen Schiffes. Der Sarkophag in Thessaloniki (Nr. 12, Abb. 2) hat als zentrale Mitte der Vorderseite eine großartige Kampfgruppe, bei der ein Krieger am Landesteg von einem zweiten, mächtig ausholenden am Haar gerissen wird und gleich erschlagen werden soll. Gegen den von links kommenden Krieger scheinen sich die Griechen in den ersten beiden Schiffen zu wenden, es muß sich also um einen Trojaner handeln. Dann spricht alles dafür, in ihm Hektor zu sehen, der hier in einem anderen Typus als auf den Sarkophagen der Gruppe I auftritt.¹⁵ Diese Kampfgruppe war auch den Bildhauer des Sarkophages in Damaskus (Nr. 2) bekannt, er hat sie auf die rechte Nebenseite gesetzt. Als betonte Mitte ist eine vergleichbare Gruppe auf der Vorderseite eines Amazonensarkophages in Thessaloniki eingesetzt, nun als Achill und

Penthesilea.¹⁶ Sie findet sich auch sonst noch bei attischen Sarkophagen.¹⁷

Den Gegner Hektors können wir kaum benennen. Da es sich nicht um die Ankunft der Griechen an der troischen Küste handelt, wird der unterlegene Grieche nicht Protesilaos sein, der erste Grieche, der vor Troja fällt.¹⁸ C. Robert hat den Griechen, der auf den Beispielen der Gruppe I Hektor unterliegt, vorschlagsweise Periphetes genannt (Ilias XV 638 - 652).¹⁹

Im linken Teil des Sarkophages in Thessaloniki (Nr. 12) ist eine berittene Amazone einem Trojaner zu Hilfe gekommen, der von einem Griechen niedergeschlagen worden ist und sich mit seiner linken Hand zu decken sucht.²⁰ Auf der anschließenden linken Nebenseite geht der Kampf auf dem Lande weiter.

In den beiden Männern im rechten Schiff auf dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki dürfen wir wohl Achill und seinen Freund Patroklos sehen.²¹ In der Ilias (XI 599 - 601) wird geschildert, daß Achill, beim Steuer eines Schiffes stehend, auf das Kampfgeschehen herabblickt, das für die Griechen eine schlechte Wendung genommen hat. Patroklos steht da allerdings nicht neben ihm, sondern Achill wendet sich zu ihm vom Schiff herab. Er ließ ihn schließlich mit seinen Kriegern, den Myrmidonen, in den Kampf ziehen, als die Griechen in höchster Not waren. Patroklos trieb die Trojaner zurück, fiel dann aber durch Hektor. Auf den Fragmenten in Malibu (Nr. 14, Abb. 1) und Triest (Nr. 13, Abb. 4) hätten wir Reste von Achill und Patroklos, auf dem in Niš (Nr. 15, Abb. 3) nur von Achill.

Es muß offen bleiben, ob wir das Fragment in Malibu - und auch die Fragmente in Triest und in Niš - nach dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki ergänzen dürfen, da es für die Überlieferung bisher keine weitere Parallele gibt. Es ist deshalb auch nicht sicher, ob das der Gruppe II zugrunde liegende Vorbild eine Figurenabfolge hatt, die dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki entsprach.²²

Schlachtsarkophages in Tyrus, M. Chéhab, *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie* Nr. 12, Sept.-Oct. 1975, 42, oder der rechten Nebenseite des Amazonensarkophages im Louvre, C. Robert, ASR II 69, um nur einige attische Beispiele zu nennen.

18. B. Brenk, *Saloniki* 41.

19. C. Robert, ASR III 2 S. 368 - 369.

20. Nach K. Schefold, *Bilderbücher* 791 - 792, soll es sich um Achill und Penthesilea handeln; der angebliche Achill wendet sich aber eindeutig zu dem Zusammengebrochenen und holt mit der Waffe aus, von einem Sieg über Penthesilea ist auf diesem Sarkophage nichts dargestellt, eine derartige Gruppe von Achill und Penthesilea wäre

auch zumindest ungewöhnlich; daß auch die attischen Bildhauer Achill Penthesilea-Gruppen verwandten, zeigt der Sarkophag in Thessaloniki (siehe oben Anm. 16).

21. B. Brenk, *Saloniki* 40 - 41.

22. Die Sarkophagen geben keinerlei Anhaltspunkt, mit K. Schefold, *Bilderbücher* 791, ein "griechisches" Gemälde, "eine großartige Zentralkomposition," zu rekonstruieren, das im linken Teil etwa dem Sarkophag in Thessaloniki und im rechten Teil den Sarkophagen der Gruppe I entsprochen habe. Rückschlüsse auf mögliche ältere - griechische - Vorlagen lassen sich bei den kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen aus Rom und Athen nur dann ziehen, wenn man jeweils alle Sarkophagen einer

Da das Fragment in Malibu recht klein ist, läßt es sich nicht genau datieren. Es scheint aber nichts dagegen zu sprechen, es in etwa dieselbe Zeit anzusetzen wie den Sarkophag in Thessaloniki, also gegen die Mitte des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.²³

Im J. Paul Getty Museum gibt es in der bisher noch kleinen Sammlung kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophage Beispiele aus allen drei Zentren der Produktion, Rom, Athen und der Gegend in Kleinasien, aus der die sogenannten pamphyliischen Sarkophage kommen. Besonders reich ist Rom vertreten, es ragen ein kleiner Sarkophag mit

Eroten und Greifen,²⁴ der aus dem Beginn der Verbreitung von Sarkophagen in Rom stammt, eine Vorderseite eines Endymionsarkophages²⁵ aus dem ersten Viertel des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. und die hervorragenden Fragmente eines Musensarkophages²⁶ aus gallienischer Zeit heraus; Kleinasien ist mit der vorzüglichen Langseite eines Girlandensarkophages²⁷ vertreten und Athen nun mit dem kleinen Fragment eines Schiffskampfsarkophages. Es ist zu hoffen, daß auch die Sammlung kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophage ergänzt werden kann.

Universität Göttingen

Gruppe genau gemustert und den zugrundeliegenden Archetypus, das für die Sarkophage geschaffene Vorbild, herausgearbeitet hat; es führt zu nichts, willkürlich einen Sarkophag herauszugreifen und dann griechische Gemälde rekonstruieren zu wollen.

23. H. Wiegartz, *Myra* 194. - Für die Frage, warum der Kampf bei den Schiffen als Darstellung auf Sarkophagen gewählt werden konnte, gibt das Exemplar in Tyrus (Nr. 1) einigen Aufschluß. Auf dem Deckel lagerten ursprünglich eine Frau und ein Mann; die Frau wurde abgearbeitet und aus der vorhandenen Steinmasse der rechte Arm des Mannes, seine - viel zu große - Hand, ein Schiffsruder und ein Schwert herausgemeißelt. Es könnte sich also um einen Seeoffizier gehandelt

haben, der sich eine Darstellung ausgesucht hat, die mit Schiffen, See und Kampf zu tun hat. Das Zeugnis dieses Sarkophages darf allerdings nicht verallgemeinert werden.

24. Inv. 74 AA 25. *Recent Acquisitions. Ancient Art. The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1974 - 1975*, Nr. 13, Abb.

25. Inv. 76 AA 8.

26. Inv. 72 AA 90 C. Vermeule - N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1973, 40 - 41, Nr. 90.

27. Inv. 72 AA 152. K. Schauenburg, *GettyMusJ.* 2, 1975, 61 - 70, Abb. 6.

Two sculptures from the Haurân in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Susan B. Downey

A stele now in the J. Paul Getty Museum (71.AA.319)¹ can be attributed to the Haurân (southern Syria) on the basis of its material, the dark local basalt of the Haurân, and the style (Fig. 1). The rectangular stele, 0.624 m. high by 0.649 wide by 0.11 deep, is cut with a plain border at the top and sides; the border narrows toward the bottom and disappears behind the relief on the right side. The surface is badly weathered, and the frame and part of the staff of the seated figure are chipped.

The relief represents a seated god and a standing female figure, probably a goddess or priestess. Rosettes, perhaps standing for the sun and the moon, decorate the upper corners of the relief just inside the border. An unintelligible inscription, partly in Greek letters is visible on both sides of the god's head and has been read as follows:

	[ε]
ΜΙΝΑΡΦΑ	ΗΔΒΑΙΑΣ
ΑΡΖΑΤΩΝ	ΙΣ
ΦΛΙΚΑΝ	ΕΤΕΙ
Ρ(ΜΜΙ)Ρ' Μ'	ΦΙΔΑΣ

Though a word is intelligible here and there (e.g., ετει), it appears to be nonsense, probably carved by someone who did not know Greek.

On the right side of the stele, a bearded god, clad only in a himation, sits on a simple throne. A sword rests against his body, and to his right he holds a club-like staff

around which a snake winds. On the left a female figure stands in profile with her head bent down in a 3/4 view. Her right hand holds a bowl out of which the snake drinks, while with her left hand she grasps one of its coils. The stele was apparently intended to be viewed from slightly to the left, since the drapery of the female figure on the left side of the stele is worked, while the god's garment on the right edge is not.

The long rectangular face of the god is rather blockily cut, tapering towards the background. There is little modeling. Raised surfaces form the eyebrows. Heavy lids frame the round, properly proportioned eyes. The nose is a powerful wedge. The large, low ears contain little detail. A large, plain moustache droops into the irregularly incised beard. A diadem, ornamented by a triangular projection, binds the forehead. The hair is treated in a rather odd pattern—a series of triangles, increasing in size towards the front, with curving incisions along the sides.

The god is seated with his legs in profile and his head and torso frontal. The treatment of the figure is conventional, a combination of modeling (pectoral muscles) and incision (two parallel curved lines below the pectoral muscles, emphasizing them). The figure is somewhat out of proportion: the chest, left upper arm, and forearm are too short. By contrast, the right upper arm is about the right length, but very flat and unnatural. The right forearm is not indicated, nor is there any place for it. The

The abbreviations follow the system used in the *AJA*. Two additional abbreviations are used, as follows:

Butler, *Princeton Expedition* = Howard Crosby Butler, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria, Division II, Ancient Architecture in Syria, Section A, Southern Syria, Part 6, Si' (Seeia)* (Leiden 1916).

Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueïda* = Maurice Dunand, *Le Musée de*

Soueïda (Haut Commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, XX, Paris 1934).

1. Cornelius Vermeule and Norman Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1973) p. 40, No. 88. I wish to thank Jiří Frel, curator of antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for permission to publish the two sculptures discussed in this article.



Figure 1. Stele from the Haurân. Malibu.

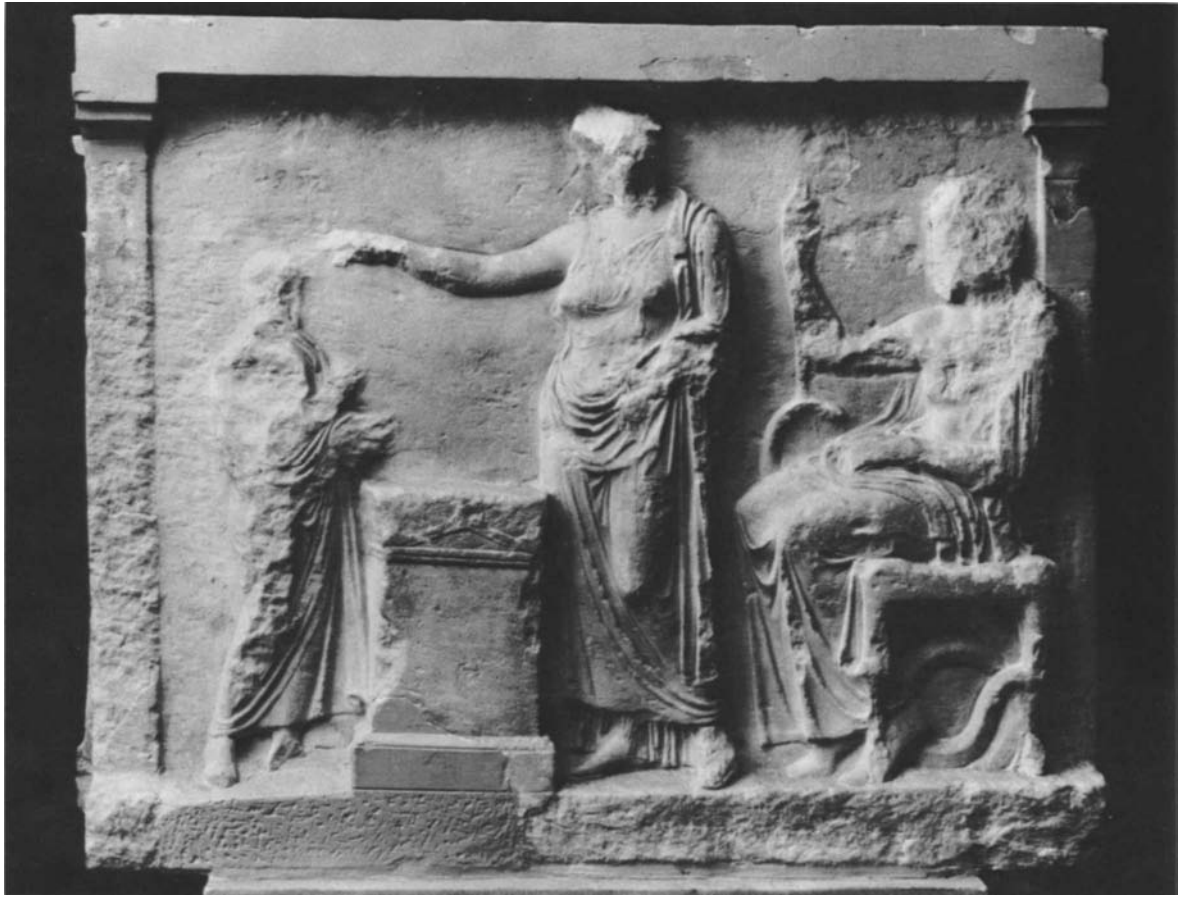


Figure 2. Votive relief to Asklepios. Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

left arm bends in at the waist, with the wrist resting on the hilt of the sword. The right arm rests at his side, the hand and forearm hidden by the staff which he holds. The left leg bends sharply back, the knee and calf forming the highest plane in the relief. The left foot, in profile, is sketchily but accurately shaped. The right leg is not visible.

The himation, pulled across the waist from the left arm and shoulder, covers the legs but leaves most of the chest bare. The drapery is treated generally in a series of irregular shaved-off ridges. Where it is pulled tight, it reveals the form of the body underneath. Over his left shoulder it forms roughly vertical folds, and the end falls away from the arm in a series of looping folds. One of these, very deeply undercut, shows traces of drill work. The god's voluminous garment hides most of the throne. One leg appears at the extreme right of the stele; it is quite heavy and flat, decorated with a wiggly cut-out resembling a lizard. Part of an arm-rest projects below the god's left wrist.

The female figure, clad in a sleeved chiton and hima-

tion, fits awkwardly into the remaining space and is somewhat unorganically conceived. Only her right breast is shown, and that is placed too high. The right upper arm is too short and the forearm too long. The arm is rounded, however, and the large hand is adequately shaped. The left arm emerges from too close to the body and the hand is too large. The head obviously depends upon a Greco-Roman model. Only the visible side is fully worked, but deep undercutting makes the head appear carved in the round. The careful modeling, especially of the eyes, nose, and mouth, comes closer to Western work than the god's face. The eyes, like his, are set in raised eyelids. The heavy hair is parted in the middle, loosely bound with a diadem and pulled up in a loose bun. Irregular incisions mark locks.

The mid-calf length himation largely covers the high-necked, girdled chiton. The visible portions of the chiton are treated simply, with a few incised folds. Both legs appear slightly rounded beneath the chiton. Rough vertical folds mark the lower edge. The hem of the garment spreads over the roughly cut, sandalled right foot.



Figure 3. Stele of Zeus Kyrrios from Dura-Europos.
Yale University Art Gallery.

Behind the right leg, the chiton is in a lower plane, and only a few folds are marked; the artist is interested in the drapery only where it covers the body. In carving the himation he has used Greco-Roman formulae which he did not fully understand. The thick wad of material pulled around the waist is cut with roughly diagonal lines and curves up the back. The himation pulls irregularly around the left arm and ends in a zigzag over the wrist. It sweeps around the hip in curves which should be understood as pulled around the back of the left leg; however, one cut over the area of the left leg is very deep indeed. The tight mass of material over the right hip is treated with irregular incisions in a roughly triangular pattern, disconnected from the folds sweeping up over

the legs.

The snake which winds around the plain staff is simply but adequately carved, with a well-shaped head. The background is fairly well smoothed, but between the snake and the female figure it is cut back in a series of "steps," a rather lazy procedure.

The god, doubtlessly based on some Greek prototype, has been rethought in Near Eastern terms as a frontal, hieratic figure. The female figure remains much closer to her Greco-Roman model. The figures are clearly modeled on, and perhaps represent, Asklepios and either Hygieia or Epione. Athenian votive reliefs frequently portray a throned Asklepios. While details vary, the general type remains: a bearded god clad in a himation, often holding

2. E.g., J.N. Svoronos, *Das athenen Nationalmuseum*, v. I (Athens 1908) pp. 257f., 34, 35, Nos. 1337, 1338, Pl. XXXVIII.3, 5; p. 275, 51, No. 1354, Pl. XXXIV; v. II (Athens 1911), p. 294, 74, No. 1377, Pl. XLVIII.A-B.

3. *Ibid.*, v. I, p. 254, 31, No. 1334, Pl. XXXVIII.2.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 257f., 35, No. 1338, Pl. XXXVIII.3.

5. Walther Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, v. II (Berlin 1908), pp. 602–605, No. 399, Pl. 51.

6. Gustave Mendel, *Musées impériaux ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, et byzantines*, v. I (Rome 1966) pp. 239–242, No. 91 (109), where it is identified as a funerary relief. This comparison is also made in Vermeule and Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in*



Figure 4. Altar from Kefr el Ma'a. Damascus, National Museum. Photo: Courtesy Direction générale des Antiquités et des Musées, Damascus.

a staff in his right hand. A snake is frequently represented beneath or beside the throne.² The god may also be represented standing, usually with a staff and a snake. In several of these reliefs, Asklepios is associated with a goddess, either Hygeia or Epione; other figures, such as worshippers, may also be present. One relief, closely related to the Getty stele, shows Asklepios standing, holding a staff around which a snake winds; in front of him Hygeia holds a libation bowl over an altar.³ On another relief Epione stands in front of the seated Asklepios, holding her hand over the head of a worshipper (Fig. 2).⁴ A sculptural group in the Vatican also shows Asklepios seated with a staff and a snake by his left side, together with Hygeia, whose left arm is restored as

holding a bowl.⁵ A votive relief from Saloniki, now in the Istanbul National Museum, shows a bearded male figure, probably Asklepios, seated and holding a staff with branches at its upper end; a female figure, probably Hygeia, sits beside him holding a bowl from which a snake drinks.⁶ In other cases the goddess' gesture and attributes are not preserved.⁷ In a number of images in the Vatican Museum the staff is club-like, as on the Getty stele.⁸ Thus, the god belongs to the type of Asklepios, except for one element: the sword.

A sword is an inappropriate attribute not only for Asklepios but also for any Greek or Roman seated god in civil dress. With the exception of Ares or Mars, gods do not hold a sword unless they are actually fighting,

the J. Paul Getty Museum, p. 40.

7. Svoronos, *Das athenen Nationalmuseum*, p. 245, 27, No. 1330, Pl. XXXV.3; v. II, p. 294, No. 1377, Pl. XLVIII.A-B.

8. Walther Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, v. I (Berlin 1903) pp. 29f., No. 17, Pl. 4; pp. 777f., No. 684, Pl. 84; v. II (Berlin 1908) pp. 602–605, No. 399, Pl. 51; Georg Lippold, *Die Skulp-*

turen des Vaticanischen Museums, v. III.1 (Berlin and Leipzig 1936) pp. 140f., No. 550a, Pl. 48; Guido Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano* (Vatican City 1937) pp. 113, 114, Nos. 247, 250, Pl. XLV.



Figure 5. Relief of Shadrafa from Palmyra. British Museum. Photo: Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

and Ares, if he holds a sword, also wears armor. Seyrig and others have pointed out the prominence of armed gods in the art of desert Syria, though not specifically in the Haurân. These gods are generally clad either in a cuirass of Greek, Roman or local type, or wear a particular type of local dress consisting of a tunic, a mantle, and an extra piece of cloth wrapped around the waist. They generally also hold a spear and often a shield.⁹

While some deities may appear in both military and

civil dress, they maintain a distinction between the two. Thus, a deity such as Baalshamin, who frequently wears military dress,¹⁰ may be represented seated on a throne and clad in civilian dress (usually a long-sleeved tunic and a himation); he then generally holds a scepter and other attributes such as grain and fruit, but no weapons.¹¹ The stele of Zeus Kyrios-Baalshamin from Dura, dated to A.D. 31, will serve as an example of the type (Fig. 3).¹² The Getty relief's combination of civil,

9. Henri Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes 89: Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie," *Syria* XLVII (1970) pp. 77–87.

10. E.g., Seyrig, *Syria* XXVI (1949) pp. 29–33, Pl. II; R. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre* (Paris 1962) pp. 313–316, figs. 181, 183, 184.

11. E.g., Paul Collart, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre* (Rome 1969) v. I, p. 210; v. II, Pl. CIII.1; F.E. Brown in: M.I. Rostovtzeff, F.E. Brown, and C.B. Welles, eds., *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work* (New Haven 1939) pp. 258–260, Pl. XXXIII.

12. Hopkins, in *ibid.*, pp. 292–302, Pl. XXXVII.

13. Louis Jalabert, *Mélanges de la faculté orientale, Université Saint Joseph*, Beyrouth, I (1906) pp. 159–160, Pl. II.1, 4.

14. Dominique Sourdel, *Les cultes du Haurân à l'époque romaine* (Paris 1952) p. 47, Pl. I.

15. Selim and Andrée Abdul-Hak, *Catalogue illustré du département des antiquités greco-romaines au Musée de Damas* (Damascus 1951) p. 66, No. 31, Pl. XXVIII.2.

16. Jalabert, *Mélanges de la faculté orientale, Université Saint Joseph*, Beyrouth, I (1906) pp. 159f., Pl. II.3–5.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 159, Pl. II.1.

18. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Haurân à l'époque romaine* (Paris 1952) p. 47, Pl. I.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 46f.; Jalabert, *Mélanges de la faculté orientale, Université Saint Joseph*, Beyrouth, I (1906) p. 160.

indeed Greek, dress and a sword is unparalleled.

On four sculptured altars from the Haurân a god clad in a cuirass holds in his right hand a staff around which is wound a snake. Damage to two of the altars makes it impossible to tell what he held in the left hand.¹³ On an altar now in Istanbul the god holds a shield in his left hand,¹⁴ while an altar from Kefer El-Ma'a now in the National Museum in Damascus depicts this same god holding grain and fruit in his left hand (Fig. 4).¹⁵ While the two lateral faces of the altar from Kefer El-Ma'a are unadorned, the other three altars depict additional figures. The cuirassed god occupies the principal face of the Mkeis altar, while the two lateral faces are occupied by gods identified by Jalabert as Apollo and Heracles. This latter identification seems especially questionable, although the god's nudity and the style do suggest a relation to a Greco-Roman god.¹⁶ On an altar of unknown provenance, now in the Louvre, a very badly battered female figure, perhaps Hygeia, is represented on the sole surviving lateral face.¹⁷ On the altar in Istanbul two busts, one male and one female, both without attributes, are depicted on the lateral faces.¹⁸

The god with the staff and snake is considered by Jalabert and Sourdél as a local type of Asklepios.¹⁹ The military dress is typical of the local healing god Shadrafa. Shadrafa has as attributes a scorpion (or scorpions) and a snake wound around a spear, though not all representations show both animals.²⁰ For example, a relief from the Temple of Bel, dated to A.D. 32, identifies a god clad in a cuirass, holding a sword and a spear around which a snake is wound, as Shadrafa.²¹ A stele inscription in the British Museum, dated to A.D. 55, identifies as Shadrafa a god clad in a scale cuirass characteristic of early sculpture at Palmyra. The god holds a sword, a shield, and a spear around which is wound a snake, while a scorpion appears in the field above his left shoulder (Fig. 5).²² The same god appears on a stele of archaic style found in the

Sanctuary of Baalshamin; in this case the god holds one scorpion in his left hand, while another appears in the field above his left shoulder. He also holds a spear, but there is no snake.²³ While the earliest epigraphical mention of Shadrafa dates to the fifth or fourth century B.C., it is generally agreed that his name includes the Semitic root RP', meaning "healing," and that the animal attributes reflect earlier Mesopotamian (less probably Egyptian) use of the snake and the scorpion as beneficent healing animals.²⁴ Obviously both his function as a healing god and the snake as an attribute relate Shadrafa to Asklepios.²⁵

It seems likely, then, that the four images from the Haurân represent not Asklepios but Shadrafa, as Seyrig has suggested. Only the scorpion of Shadrafa is missing. It seems barely possible that the wiggly design on the throne leg is a misunderstood scorpion. Seyrig in fact argues that the type was exported to the Haurân from Palmyra, where cuirassed deities are very common.²⁶ Other than these four images, Sourdél cites as evidence for the worship of Asklepios in the Haurân only two theophoric names; an inscription from Bosra naming Hygeia provides indirect evidence of his presence, since the two are generally associated.²⁷

The Getty stele thus appears to provide the first known image of Asklepios from the Haurân. Where the images of the god in military dress, perhaps Shadrafa, from the Haurân probably come out of a strongly Arabized milieu, the Getty stele remains much closer to Greco-Roman prototypes, with the addition of a few disconcerting elements, probably under the influence of Arab ideas.

As has already been observed, the female figure remains stylistically closer to Greco-Roman models than the male figure; nonetheless, the relief as a whole belongs among the more "classical" group of Haurân sculpture.²⁸ For example, the treatment of the head of Hygeia on the

20. Starcky, *Syria* XXVI (1949) pp. 45f., fig. 2; pp. 70-72, fig. 8; Du Mesnil, *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre* (Paris 1962) pp. 341-344.

21. Starcky, *Syria* XXVI (1949) pp. 72, 74, fig. 8; Seyrig, *Syria* XV (1934) pp. 168f., Pl. XX.

22. Starcky, *Syria* XXVI (1949) pp. 45f., fig. 2; Seyrig, *Berytus* III (1936) pp. 137-140, Pl. XXX.

23. Collart, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre* (Rome 1969) v. I, pp. 225f.; v. II, Pl. CVIII.4.

24. Starcky, *Syria* XXVI (1949) pp. 73-81; Caquot, *Syria* XXIX (1952) pp. 74-88; Du Mesnil, *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre* (Paris 1962) pp. 341, 346f.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 346; Starcky, *Syria* XXVI (1949) pp. 74f.

26. Seyrig, *Syria* XLVII (1970) pp. 83-85; Starcky, *Syria* XXVI (1949) pp. 74f., states that it is not certain that these images represent Shadrafa.

27. Sourdél, *Les cultes de l'Haurân à l'époque romaine* (Paris 1952) pp. 46-48.

28. An analysis of the style of Haurân sculpture is found in Armand Abel, "La statuaire hauranienne: une branche provinciale de l'art romain tardif," *Annales de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLIX (1957) pp. 1-15. Examples of the "unclassical" style in the Haurân are the sculptures from Si 'a: Howard Crosby Butler, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, II.A.6, (Leiden 1916) Ills. 331, 333, fragment G; 334, fragments M-P; 344. (Hereafter abbreviated Butler, *Princeton Expedition*).



Figure 6. Fragment of frieze from the Haurân. Malibu.



Figure 7. Grave at Frikaya, Syria. Photo: Courtesy Dept. of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University.

Getty relief recalls a statue of Minerva from Soueida.²⁹ The formal patterning of drapery, characteristic of much Haurân sculpture,³⁰ is absent from the Getty stele. Most similar to the Getty stele is a lintel representing the Judgment of Paris(?), also from Soueida.³¹ The treatment of the figure of Hera, especially, recalls that of Hygeia, though the drapery of all of the Soueida figures is carved into much finer folds than on the Getty stele, and the hair of the goddesses on the lintel is more elaborately patterned. Another Soueida altar with rather ropy, carelessly cut drapery more closely recalls Hygeia's drapery.³² The figure of Zeus on the Soueida lintel, with stiffly modelled pectoral muscles and awkwardly twisted body, is somewhat similar to Asklepios, but is more coherent, especially in the legs. Furthermore, the head of Zeus is much closer to Greco-Roman style. The posture of Asklepios, with legs twisted sharply to the side without a proper transition from the torso, is somewhat similar to that of Zeus Kyrios on a relief from Dura (Fig. 3),³³ though in the Dura relief both legs are shown.

Thus the Getty stele fits generally within the stylistic

framework of Haurân sculpture, but with no exact parallels. The strongly Near Eastern appearance of the god, in contrast to the figure of Hygeia, supports the idea that the god might represent an Asklepios assimilated to a local deity, or in any case an Asklepios strongly influenced by Syrian ideas.

A second sculpture of unknown origin, probably part of a metope-triglyph frieze, may also be attributed to the Haurân on the basis of material and style (71.AA.320; Fig. 6). The stone is a brownish basalt with small white flecks; there are holes in the surface where pebbles have dropped out. The fragment appears to be substantially complete on top, though its upper edge is rough and broken, and it is broken on all other sides. In its present state it is 0.39 m. high and 0.47 m. wide. A roughly square central panel, 0.31 by 0.27, decorated with a beardless male head set on slightly concave disc (diam., 25 cm.), is crowned with a cyma reversa molding below which is a narrow fillet. This crowning molding continues, in a slightly higher plane, above the elements

29. Abdul Hak, *Catalogue illustré du département des antiquités grecoromaines au Musée de Damas* (Damascus 1951) pp. 57f., No.3, Pls. XXXIV, XXXV.

30. Abel, *Annales de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* XLIX (1957) pp. 4–7.

31. Maurice Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueida* (Paris 1934) pp. 11–13,

No. 1, Pl. IV.1.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 27f., No. 29, Pl. X.29.

33. Hopkins, in: M.I. Rostovtzeff, F.E. Brown, and C.B. Welles, eds., *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work* (New Haven 1939) pp. 292–302, Pl. XXXVII.

which frame the central panel; traces at the top right edge suggest that the molding was originally topped with other elements. At the right edge is one complete section of a triglyph and part of a second, with a triangular decoration in the hollow between them; at the left side only one section of the triglyph and part of the triangular decoration remains. The break at the bottom leaves no traces of a lower molding. The interpretation of the Getty fragment as part of a metope-triglyph frieze alludes to the frieze of the colonnade, which lined the main street of Apamea, consisting of metopes with sculptured masks. The hollows of the triglyphs have carved acorn-like decoration, and the crowning molding has a more elaborate profile than does the Getty piece.³⁴

The beardless face on a concave disc turns slightly to its right (spectator's left), suggesting that this fragment comes from the right half of a frieze. The round face, simple and almost mask-like, has little modeling. A series of heavy, simple locks curl around the forehead and conceal the ears. The forehead is cut in a higher plane than the rest of the face so that the eyes are carved on a surface cut in at an angle toward the background. The naturally proportioned eyes set in raised lids with strong hollows made with the drill at the corners. No inner detail is indicated. The nose is wedge-shaped; although the nostrils are largely broken off, enough remains to show that they were wide. The mouth consists of a large hollow rounded at the slightly downturned corners and set between lips formed by shaving back the surface of the stone; thus, its shape contributes to the mask-like character of the face. The simplified modeling, characteristic of much Haurân sculpture, may have been dictated partly by aesthetic considerations (a desire to achieve a mask-like effect) and partly by the material. The rough basalt of the Haurân is not well suited to finely detailed carving.

Heads somewhat similar in style to the Getty piece abound in Haurân sculpture. For example, the features

and hair of a male bust on an altar from Deir-el-Leben are rendered in a related, though somewhat more simplified style; damage makes it impossible to compare the mouths.³⁵ The closest parallel is a youthful mask which decorates a rock-cut grave at Frikaya (Fig. 6); here also the modeling is simplified and the forehead is cut in a separate plane from the lower part of the face. The mouth is simple, as on the Getty head, but the lips appear to be raised. The locks of hair which frame the face are similar in conception but simpler and entirely unmodeled.³⁶ In other Haurân sculpture the rendering is somewhat clumsier, especially around the eyes.³⁷ The grotesque treatment of the mouth exaggerates even further the mask-like character of a head decorating a Corinthian capital from the Temple of Dushara at Si'â.³⁸ Other sculpture from Si'â differs from the Getty fragment in various ways. One group of heads shows greater plasticity, especially in the cheeks.³⁹ On two other heads the treatment of the eyes as very large within raised lids is more conventionalized even than on the Getty piece.⁴⁰ The sculpture from Si'â can be approximately dated to between the late first century B.C.⁴¹ and the first half of the first century A.D.⁴²

Another head, probably from a portrait statue, dated by Parlasca to the first century A.D., also shows similarities to the Getty frieze.⁴³ Especially similar is the treatment of the hair in large locks curling around the forehead; as on the Getty head, each lock is subdivided by a shallow incision. The simplified modeling and the construction of the forehead in a separate plane from the lower part of the face is repeated, but the treatment of the eyes and mouth differs. On the head discussed by Parlasca the lips project strongly, and not only are the eyes set in strongly raised lids, but the iris and pupil are incised, a detail which had led to the head's being dated to the third-fourth centuries A.D.⁴⁴ The chronology of the sculpture of the Haurân is uncertain, but if Parlasca's early dating is accepted, the Getty piece could be at-

34. V. Verhoogen, *Apamée de Syrie aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Brussels 1964) figs. 8-10.

35. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueida* (Paris 1934) p. 22, No. 18, Pl. VIII.18.

36. Hubertus Von Gall, *Baghdader Mitteilungen V* (1970) pp. 28f., Pl. 6.3.

37. E.g., Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueida*, pp. 29f., No. 34, Pl. XII.34; p. 51, No. 79, Pl. XXIII.79.

38. Butler, *Princeton Expedition*, II.A.6, Ill. 337.

39. *Ibid.*, Ill. 334, fragments M-N.

40. *Ibid.*, fragment P; Parlasca, AA 1967, pp. 557f., fig. 9.

41. Butler, *Princeton Expedition* II.A.6, pp. 371-374, 389f.

42. Parlasca, AA 1967, pp. 557-559.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 549-560, figs. 2, 3.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 550, n. 16.

45. Luigi Crema, *L'Architettura romana* (*Enciclopedia classica*, Sezione III, volume XII, tomo 1, Torino 1959), pp. 209, 211-212, fig. 210.

46. Axel Boethius and J.B. Ward Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Penguin Books 1970), pp. 189-191, fig. 108.

tributed to the first century A.D. Much of the sculpture from Si'â appears crude in comparison, but it is not clear whether the stylistic difference indicates a difference in date rather than of workshop or place of production.

The bland, generalized features and lack of attributes make it impossible to identify the head on the Getty piece. The generalized features, however, make it unlikely that it was intended as a portrait. The fact that the head is set against a disc might argue for its representing a divine or at least an allegorical character. The use of a head set against a disc as architectural ornament is derived from Roman art, though the impetus might have been indirect. Possibly the Roman device of presenting heads or busts of divinities in a clipeus, as on the Augustan Arch at Rimini⁴⁵ or in the Forum of Augustus in Rome,⁴⁶ lies behind this scheme. On the other hand, masks set against discs also appear in purely decorative contexts in Roman art, as in the paintings in the Villa at Boscotrecase.⁴⁷ The only example of a head set against a disc among the sculpture of the Haurân occurs on a monolithic stone naos in which the lintel is crowned by an eagle flanked by a female bust set in a crescent and a radiate head, presumably male, on a concave disc. Dunand identifies these images as the triad of Baalshamin,⁴⁸ but in any case the radiate head is clearly solar. (A solar context seems unlikely for the Getty head in view of the absence of rays.)

If my interpretation of the Getty fragment is correct, the closest Syrian parallel is provided by the frieze of the colonnade which lined the main street of Apamea, where the metopes are adorned with sculptured masks. The best preserved of these masks are crowned with vine wreaths.⁴⁹ The use of busts or of simple heads to decorate architectural sculpture is frequent also in the Haurân, though no examples of a metope-triglyph format with this type of decoration occur in the published sculpture. Thus, for example, the architrave of the Roman Gate at Si'â is decorated with a meander band between egg

and dart moldings; in the squares between the meander bands on the section illustrated by Butler are three mask-like heads, two frontal and one turned slightly to its right, as well as a leaping animal. The underside of the cornice of this same gate is decorated with mask-like heads between the modillions. The gate is dated by Butler between the Antonine period and the reign of Commodus on the basis of stylistic similarity to other Haurân sculpture, including the Tychaion at iṣ-Ṣanamên.⁵⁰ Other fragments, probably of the same molding, show two profile heads face to face in one square of the meander and a bull in another.⁵¹ A fragmentary cornice from an unknown location appears similar to the cornice of the Roman Gate of Si'â; it shows one male and one female head, both slightly less mask-like than the head on the Getty piece.⁵²

Stone blocks with Medusa masks have been found at the sites of ruined temples in the Haurân, particularly at Qanawat and Si'â. Dunand suggests that these gorgoneia adorned the walls of sanctuaries, as in the Temple of Shamash at Hatra.⁵³ Busts used to decorate the panels of a stone door are probably divine, since the other symbols on the door (an eagle on a globe, a caduceus) suggest a religious context.⁵⁴ The mask carved above the arch of a rock-cut grave from Frikaya (Fig. 7) is obviously funerary; it is balanced on the other side by a Victory. Since the head of the deceased is carved above the center of the arch, the youthful mask cannot represent the dead person, and Von Gall suggests that it probably represents a protecting Gad (Tyche or Fortune).⁵⁵ Earlier scholars had called it solar,⁵⁶ but Von Gall points out that it shows no solar attributes. In none of these cases is the head or bust set against a disc.

The use of sculptured stone heads as architectural decoration is seen also in Parthian architecture, in the Temple of Shamash at Hatra; some of these heads are as youthful and uncharacterized as the head on the Getty fragment. The meaning of the masks at Hatra is uncer-

47. Peter H. von Blanckenhagen and Christine Alexander, *The Paintings from Boscotrecase* (RM, supplement 6, Heidelberg 1962), Pl. 22.

48. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueïda*, p. 28, No. 30, Pl. XI.30; Collart, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre* (Rome 1969), v. I, p. 220; v. II, Pl. C 6.

49. V. Verhoogen, *Apamée de Syrie aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Brussels 1964), figs. 8–10.

50. Butler, *Princeton Expedition II.A.6*, pp. 395–397, Ill. 342.

51. Dunand, *Musée de Soueïda*, pp. 72f., Nos. 155, 156, Pl. XXVIII. 155, 156.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 66, No. 128, Pl. XXXIX.128.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 67f., Nos. 133–135, Pl. XXXI.133–135.

54. Abel, *Annales de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* XLIX (1957), pp. 8, 10f., fig. 13.

55. Von Gall, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* V (1970), pp. 28f., Pl. 6.3.

56. Franz Cumont, *RHR* LXII (1910), p. 133, Pl. 16; Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, v. 8 (New York 1958), pp. 131f., fig. 123.

57. Von Gall, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* V (1970), pp. 26–32, Pl. 5.

tain. Von Gall points out that the fact that they include a Medusa, a winged male head, and a female head with a horned diadem suggests that the masks as a group represent divinities, and he argues on the basis of Syrian evidence, such as the grave from Frikaya, that they might be *genii* or protecting powers.⁵⁷

The fragmentary state and unknown provenance of the Getty fragment make discussion of its significance difficult. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that the head is so bland and uncharacterized. Masks seem to occur in both secular and sacred contexts in Syria. Thus,

there is no particular reason to interpret as sacred the uncharacterized masks which decorate the Roman Gate as Si'â. Masks also occur on religious monuments, such as the Medusa masks from temple sites and the radiate mask on the carved naos, and in a funerary context, as on the grave from Frikaya. The similarity of the Getty mask to the one on the grave from Frikaya and the fact that it is set against a disc argue some sort of religious or funerary symbolism also for it, but certainty is impossible.

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Drei Kleinbronzen im J. Paul Getty Museum

Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier

Die Jahrzehnte vom Ende des 8. Jhs. bis in den Beginn des 7. Jhs. v.Chr., die Zeit des spätgeometrischen bis frühorientalisierenden Stils in der Vasenmalerei, können als eine Periode reicher Produktivität des griechischen Bronzehandwerks gelten. Ein eindringliches Bild von der Vielfalt und Spannweite seiner Erzeugnisse vermittelt die immense Fülle an Kleinbronzen aus den Heiligtümern Griechenlands,¹ bestehend aus Trachtzubehör des täglichen Gebrauchs (Nadeln, Fibeln), Schmuck (Hals-, Arm- und Ohringe), Waffen (Schilde, Helme, Lanzen spitzen z.T. in Miniaturformat), Gefäßen (Phialen, Kannen, Dreifußkessel) und Statuetten (Menschen, Pferde, Rinder).

An dem uns heute vorliegenden, reichen Fundbestand wird darüber hinaus deutlich, daß nicht nur einige wenige Handwerkszentren, sondern eher zahlreiche

regionale Bronzeworkstätten mit eigenen Traditionen und Entwicklungen in den verschiedenen Landschaften Griechenlands tätig waren,² die sowohl quantitativ der großen Nachfrage, als auch qualitativ den unterschiedlichen Ansprüchen der Käufer gerecht werden konnten. Im Bewußtsein der eigenen Leistungsfähigkeit darf nicht zuletzt ein Motiv für die frühen Selbstdarstellungen des arbeitenden Bronzehandwerkers zu sehen sein.³ Als charakteristische Erzeugnisse dieser Werkstätten seien hier drei Kleinbronzen aus dem J. Paul Getty Museum vorgestellt (Geschenkt von Gordon McLendon, 78.AC. 272.1-3).⁴

Fibel (Abb. 1):

Beim Schaftansatz gebrochen, Schaft mit Spirale und Nadel fehlt, Innenkante der Fußplatte leicht bestoßen.

L. noch 4,6 cm, Höhe der Fußplatte mit Zierknopf 3,8 cm.

Für einige der häufiger zitierten Monographien werden die folgenden Abkürzungen verwendet:

Béquignon, Phères = Y. Béquignon, *Recherches archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie* (1937)

Blinkenberg, Fibules = Ch.Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales* (1926)

Furtwängler, Aegina = A.Furtwängler, *Aegina. Das Heiligtum der Aphaia* (1906)

Hoffman, Ten Centuries = H.Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that shaped the West* (1970)

Jacobsthal, Greek Pins = P.Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connections with Europe and Asia* (1956)

Kilian, Fibeln = K.Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien von der mykenischen bis zur archaischen Zeit* (1975)

Perachora I = H. Payne, *Perachora. The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia* (1940)

Sapouna-Sakellarakis, Fibeln = E.Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Fibeln der griechischen Inseln* (1978)

1. Beispielhaft sei hingewiesen auf: Aigina (Furtwängler, *Aegina* 390ff. Taf.114-117); Olympia (A.Furtwängler, *Olympia* IV [1890]1ff.); Argivisches Heraion (Ch.Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* II [1905]192ff. Taf.70-137; C.Blegen, *AJA* 43,1939,410ff.); Delphi (P.Perdrizet, *Fouilles*

de Delphes V [1908]27ff.; C.Rolley, *Fouilles de Delphes* V [1969]1ff.); Lindos (Ch.Blinkenberg, *Lindos I* [1931]71ff. Taf.5-13;19-31); Pherai (Béquignon, *Phères* 67ff.Taf.19-21; Kilian, *Fibeln*); Tegea (Ch.Dugas, *BCH* 45,1921,340ff.); Sparta (R.M.Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* [1929]196ff.Taf.75-90); Perachora (*Perachora I* 69ff. 123ff.Taf.17; 37-38; 46-85).

2. Zu Versuchen regionaler Zuweisungen von Kleinbronzen vgl. Blinkenberg, *Fibules*; R.Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* (1936); Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*; H.-V.Herrmann, *JdI* 79,1964,17ff.; M.Weber, *Istanbuler Mitt.* 16,1966,89ff.; dies., *Stadel-Jahrb.N.F.* 1,1967, 7ff.; J.Bouzek, *Eirene* 6,1967,117ff.; C.Rolley, *Fouilles de Delphes* V (1969); K.de Vries, *Forsch.u.Ber.* 14,1972,111ff.; ders., *Hesperia* 43,1974, 80ff.; N.Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *AA* 1974,544ff.

3. z.B. G.M.A.Richter, *AJA* 48,1944,1ff.Abb.1-4; B.Schweitzer, *Die geometrische Kunst Griechenlands* (1969)172f. Taf.200; Lj.Popović, u.a., *Antička bronza u Jugoslaviji*. Ausstellung Belgrad 1969, 66 Nr.19; ein weiteres Beispiel in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Kopenhagen, vermutlich aus Philia.

4. Für die Erlaubnis, diese drei Kleinbronzen zu publizieren, habe ich Jiří Frel vielmals zu danken.



Abb. 1. Plattenfibel (Vorder-und-Rückseite). Malibu.

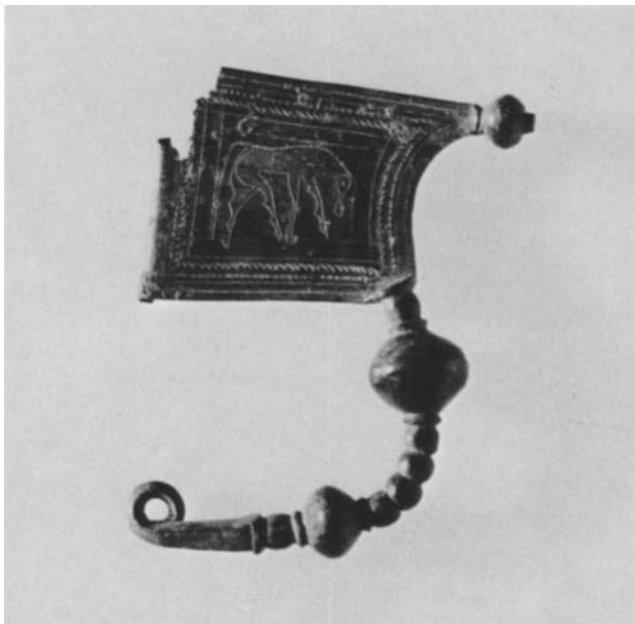


Abb. 2. Plattenfibel. Privatbesitz. Photo: D. Widmer, Basel.

Die kennzeichnenden Formmerkmale dieser Plattenfibel sind: der kräftig gerippte Bügel mit zwei großen, nahe beim Fuß- bzw. Schaftansatz sitzenden Kugelgliedern; der kurze Schaft rhombischen Querschnitts (seine Länge ist nach der Position der Nadelrast hinreichend genau zu rekonstruieren); die hochrechteckige Fußplatte mit leicht asymmetrisch einschwingender Oberkante und großem gedrückt kugeligem Zierknopf, die auf beiden Seiten geritzten Dekor trägt (auf der Verschlussseite ein schreitender Hirsch, auf der Schau-seite ein schraffierter, einstufiger Mäander mit strichgefüllten Dreiecken im Mittelfeld). Die typologische Einordnung der Fibel bereitet keine Schwierigkeiten: sie gehört den "Types Helladiques" (nach Blinkenberg) bzw. den "Plattenfibeln mit Kugelzier im Bügel" (nach K. Kilian) an,⁵ belegt jedoch mit ihren zwei Kugelgliedern einen bisher noch nicht erfaßten Typ innerhalb dieser Gruppe. Eine zweite Fibel gleichen Typs (Abb. 2) unterscheidet sich von der hier vorgelegten durch den

5. Blinkenberg, *Fibules* 128ff. insbesondere Typen VII 6-8; Kilian, *Fibeln* 115ff. insbesondere Varianten E.F.IIa-d.

geperlten Bügel und die von Ringwulsten gebildeten "Manschetten" beiderseits der zwei Kugelglieder,⁶ eine Ausgestaltung des Bügels, die sich entsprechend bei einer der Varianten des formal nahestehenden Fibeltyps mit nur einer Kugel findet.⁷ Auch der Dekor der Fußplatte folgt einem vielfach verwendeten Schema. Auf der Verschußseite bilden einfache Ritzlinien eine vierstreifige Randeinfassung mit Halbkreisbögen im äußeren und Viertelkreisbögen im inneren Streifen. Im Mittelfeld ist ein Tier dargestellt, nur durch das mit einfachen Strichen angedeutete Geweih und den kurzen Schwanz als Hirsch charakterisiert, der trotz Vereinfachung und schemati-

scher Strichfüllung von Körper und Beinen in seinem weiten Ausschreiten an die engen Grenzen des Rahmens zu stoßen scheint. Die Schauseite zeigt eine schmalere, zweistreifige Randeinfassung, ebenfalls mit Halbkreisbögen im Außenstreifen, einen umlaufenden, einstufigen, schraffierten Mäander und strichgefüllte Dreiecke im schmalen Mittelfeld.

In der folgenden Tabelle geben wir eine Zusammenstellung aller uns bekannten Fibeln mit der Motivkombination Tier-Mäander auf der Fußplatte; die Typenbezeichnung folgt der für die Fibeln Thessaliens von K.Kilian erstellten Einteilung.

Liste 1				
Typ/Variante (nach Kilian)	Verschuß-Seite	Schauseite	Fundort	Literatur/Museum
---	schreitender Hirsch	Mäander, schraffierte Dreiecke	---	J. Paul Getty Mus. (Abb. 1)
---	schreitender Hirsch	Mäander, schraffiertes Rechteck	Kuç i Zi	Z. Andrea, <i>Studime Hist.</i> 26/4, 1972, 102 Taf. 10.
---	Pferd	Mäander, schraffiertes Rechteck	Philia	Mus. Volos (M 66323)
F II c	weidendes Pferd	Mäander, schraffiertes Rechteck	Pherai	Kilian, <i>Fibeln</i> Nr. 1389
E IV	weidendes Pferd	Mäander, schraffiertes Rechteck	Philia	Mus. Volos (M 63348 B)
---	Pferd	Mäander, Rechteck	Delphi	Mus. Delphi (0. Nr.)
H I b	schreitender Hirsch	Mäander	Pherai	Kilian, <i>Fibeln</i> Nr. 1538
E II f	schreitendes Reh	Mäander	Rhodos	Blinkenberg, <i>Fibules</i> 138 Abb. 174
---	weidendes Pferd	Mäander, Hirsch	Olympia	Olympia IV Nr. 366 (Abb. 3, 4)
F III a	schreitendes Pferd	Mäander, Reh	Pherai	Kilian, <i>Fibeln</i> Nr. 1482
F II b	weidendes Pferd	Mäander, Hirsch	---	Mitten/Doeringer, <i>Master Bronzes</i> Nr. 26
E I c	schreitendes Pferd	Mäander, Löwe	---	Verbleib unbekannt (Abb. 5)
F III	Pferd	Mäander, Löwe	Philia	Mus. Volos (239 B)
F III c	Pferd	Mäander, ?	Pherai	Kilian, <i>Fibeln</i> Nr. 1497
E II b	Löwe	Swastika	Pherai	Kilian, <i>Fibeln</i> Nr. 1369

Wie diese Aufstellung zeigt, ist die Motivkombination Tier-Mäander innerhalb der Typengruppe der Platten-

fibeln nicht an einen bestimmten Typ gebunden. Die Verteilung der Muster auf die Verschuß- bzw. Schau-

6. *Early Art in Greece*. Exhibition Andre Emmerich Gallery 1965, 34f. Nr. 98. Die Vorlage für die Abbildung 2 wird dem freundlichen Entgegenkommen von H. Cahn verdankt. Das Photo ist von D. Widmer,

Basel, aufgenommen.

7. z.B. Kilian, *Fibeln* 119f. Nr. 1381-1390 (Varianten E.F.Ic.IIc); Blinkenberg, *Fibules* 138 Abb. 174 (Typ VII 7f).

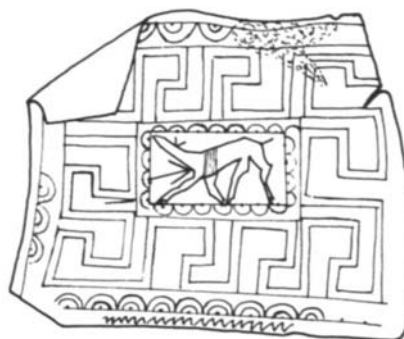
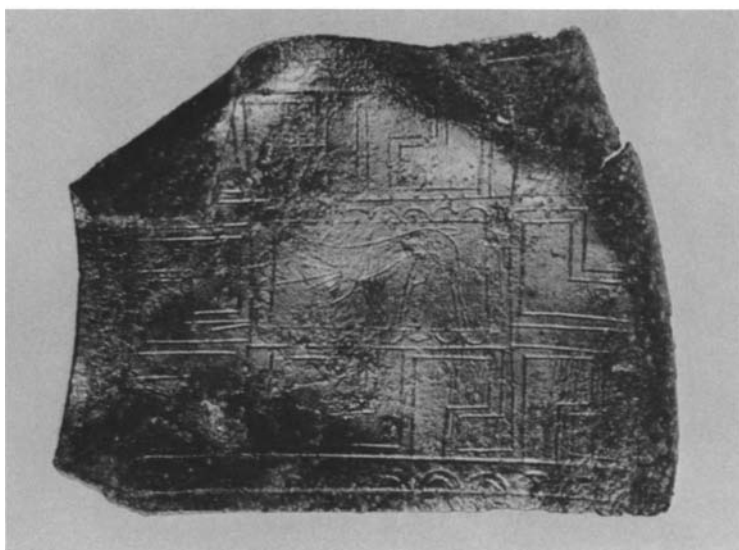
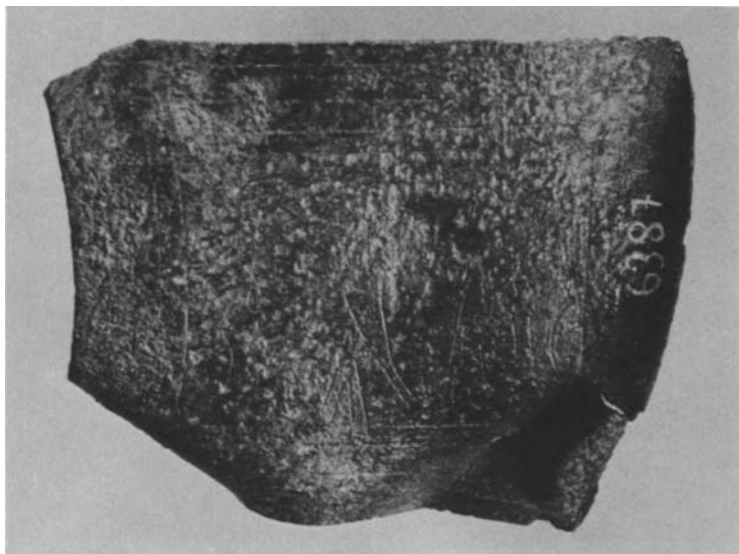


Abb. 3. Fussplatte einer Fibel, Olympia (Vorder- und-Rückseite). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

Abb. 4. Fusseplatte einer Fibel, Olympia (vgl. Abb. 3).

Abb. 5. Plattenfibel, Verbleib unbekannt (Vorder- und-Rückseite). Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.



seite allerdings scheint regelhaft, ebenso wie die Orientierung des Tieres, das stets auf den Zierknopf der Fußplatte hin ausgerichtet ist, was wohl als Indiz für die Tragweise solcher Fibeln zu werten ist.⁸ Offensichtlich ist auch, daß das Dekorationsschema als solches sehr häufig in Werkstätten Thessaliens verwendet wurde, daneben aber auch für Rhodos und Delphi auf Fibeln vermutlich lokaler Produktion belegt ist. (Für die Fibel Abb. 5, sowie die Fußplatte von Kuç i Zi erscheint uns Herstellung in Thessalien wahrscheinlich, ebenso für das Exemplar von Olympia Abb. 3, 4). Neben Motivwahl und Duktus der Tierzeichnung bietet ein Dekordetail der Fibel im J. Paul Getty Museum einen weiteren und gewichtigen Nachweis für eine Herstellung in Werkstätten Thessaliens: Dicht gestellte Viertelbögen als Füllung von Rahmenstreifen kennt man bisher vorzüglich von Fibeln aus Thessalien.⁹

Daß Fibeln Bestandteil der Tracht waren und zum Zusammenhalten des Gewandes dienten, ist eine längst bekannte und allgemein akzeptierte Tatsache. Das Fehlen bildlicher Darstellungen¹⁰ und die Seltenheit genau beobachteter Körperbestattungen mit Fibelbeigabe allerdings machen gültige Aussagen über die reale Tragweise nahezu unmöglich. In der Regel finden sich Fibeln in Frauengräbern; sie können jedoch auch in Gräbern begegnen, die durch Waffenbeigaben als Bestattungen von Männern bestimmt sind; sie treten einzeln, paarweise und in Vielzahl, mitunter sogar in Kombination mit Nadeln auf; sie liegen beim Kopf, auf den Schultern oder auf dem Leib; sie gehören zu ärmlichen bis sehr reichen Grabausstattungen.¹¹ Über eine derartige reine Aufzählung, die sich jeweils nur auf einige wenige Belege zu stützen vermag, ist derzeit nicht hinauszukommen. Detailliertere Auswertungen mit Beobachtungen zur Trachtkomposition und zu möglichen Zusammenhängen zwischen Fibelausstattung, d.h. Bekleidungsart, und Alter oder Sozialstatus werden erst bei einer breiteren

Materialbasis möglich sein.

Die Mehrzahl aller Fibeln aus Griechenland stammt jedoch nicht aus Gräbern, sondern aus Heiligtümern. Das Weißen von Gewandnadeln, die ebenso wie die Fibeln zum Befestigen oder Schließen der Kleidung dienten, in Heiligtümern ist literarisch überliefert.¹² Es sind Frauen, die auf Aigina und in Argos Nadeln als Weihegeschenke in den Heiligtümern der Göttinnen Damia und Auxesia niederlegen. Aus der Erwähnung von Nadeln zusammen mit Peploi in einer Schatzliste von Aigina wurde geschlossen, daß zumindest in einigen Fällen das Gewand inklusive der zugehörigen Nadeln geweiht worden ist.¹³ Eine entsprechende antike Überlieferung für das Weißen von Fibeln gibt es nicht. Da jedoch aus den Heiligtümern antik reparierte Fibeln,¹⁴ als Paar gearbeitete Fibeln¹⁵ und nicht zuletzt die aus Grabfunden für die Tracht belegten Größenserien einzelner Fibeltypen¹⁶ vorliegen, ist der nicht minder eindeutige archäologische Nachweis erbracht, daß es sich auch bei den Funden aus Heiligtümern in der Regel um tatsächlich getragene, als Trachtzubehör hergestellte Fibeln handelt, die wie die Nadeln im Trachtverband, d.h. am zugehörigen Gewand, geweiht werden konnten. Ausschließlich zum Weißen gefertigte, tatsächliche Votivfibeln heben sich von diesen durch ihre Übergrößen deutlich genug ab.¹⁷

Vogel (Abb. 6):

Vollständig erhalten, nur am Schwanz und einem Bein leicht bestoßen; auf Nacken, Schwanz und Beinen Rillendekor; Körper senkrecht gelocht. L. 3,6cm, H. 3,55 cm.

Der zierliche Vogel mit dem vom Schnabel zum Schwanz in einer weichen S-Kurve geschwungenen Körper hat zwei große Knopfaugen, einen flachen, T-förmigen Schwanz und breite, nach unten gerade abschließende Beine. Er steht formal dem von J. Bouzek beschriebenen "Korinthischen Vogeltyp" nahe,¹⁸ unter-

8. Vgl. Auch Kilian, *Fibeln* 118.

9. z.B. Kilian, *Fibeln* 122 Taf.50,1407; 52,1482a-c; ausserdem auf 16 weiteren Fibeln aus Philia.

10. Eine der seltenen Darstellungen des Chitons mit Fibeln als Armverschluss ist ihrer wesentlich jüngeren Zeitstellung wegen (um 450 v.Chr.? für den hier behandelten Zeitraum nicht auszuwerten (H. Biesantz, *Die Thessalischen Grabreliefs* [1965] Taf.5-6).

11. Ausführliche Diskussion von Grabfunden mit Fibeln (und Nadeln) bei H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950) 336ff; an weiteren Gräbern mit Fibeln seien erwähnt: P. Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes* V (1908)113; L. Lerat, BCH 61,1937,44ff.; O. Alexandri, *Arch. Delt.* 18, 1963 Chron.57ff.Taf.71; dies., *Arch.An.Athens* 5,1972,165ff. Abb.10-13; I. Konstantinou, *Arch.Delt.* 18,1963 Chron. 130 Taf.164-165; Th. Spyropoulos, *Arch.Delt.* 26,1971 Chron.215ff.; I. Threpsiades,

Arch.Eph. 1972, 204 Taf.82; P. Gercke, U. Naumann, *Arch.An.Athens* 7,1974, 23f. Abb.18-19; Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* 7f. Abb.17-22.

12. Herodot V 88,2.

13. Vgl. z.B. F. Studnickza, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht* (1886); H. Thiersch, in: Furtwängler, *Aigina* 415; ausführlicher Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* 98f.

14. z.B. *Perachora* I Taf.72,3.

15. z.B. aus Philia (Mus. Volos 16204; 66320); s. auch Kilian, *Fibeln* 169.

16. Kilian, *Fibeln* 113. 166.

17. Ebd. 54f. Nr. 539. 540. 546.

18. J. Bouzek, *Eirene* 6,1967,119f.



Abb. 6. Vogelanhänger. Malibu.

scheidet sich jedoch von der üblichen Ausführung mit ausgeprägtem Stirnknick und breitem, flachem Schnabel durch den ungegliederten, gleichsam eine Fortsetzung des rundstabigen Halses bildenden Kopf. Als sehr nahestehende Entsprechungen zu nennen sind ein Vogel von unbekanntem Fundort im Museum Benaki, Athen (Abb. 7)¹⁹ sowie je ein Exemplar aus Kalapodi (Lokris)²⁰ und Pherai (Thessalien);²¹ nahestehend, jedoch weniger schwungvoll gearbeitet ist der Vogel der Slg. D. und J. de Ménil, der ebenfalls aus Thessalien stammen soll;²² lediglich in der Kopfbildung vergleichbar bleibt dagegen ein Vogel aus dem Heiligtum am Aetos auf Ithaka.²³ Nach dieser weiten Fundstreuung scheint es sich also auch bei der durch den ungegliederten Kopf charakterisierten Variante des "Korinthischen" Vogels nicht um eine für nur eine Werkstatt bzw. Landschaft kennzeichnende Ausführung zu handeln.²⁴ Eine Herstellung in Thessalien kann für den Vogel im J. Paul Getty Museum

wohl in Betracht gezogen werden.

Die so zahlreich aus griechischen Heiligtümern vorliegenden kleinen, teils mit Rückenöse ausgestatteten, teils schräg oder senkrecht gelochten Bronzevögel werden meist als Votivstatuetten bezeichnet, dazu bestimmt, innerhalb des Heiligtums an einem heiligen Baum aufgehängt zu werden.²⁵ Auf genauer Fundbeobachtung basierende, eindeutige Aussagen über die primäre Funktion solcher Vogelfiguren gestattet ein Steinkistengrab von Amphikleia.²⁶ Es lagen dort auf der Brust einer mit reichem Trachtzubehör ausgestatteten Frau drei kleine Bronzevögel, davon zumindest einer ein Vogel "Korinthischer" Art, mit senkrecht durchbohrtem Körper.²⁷ Nach der Fundlage dürften diese Vögel als Anhänger in die Halskette aus Bronzeperlen eingehängt gewesen sein. Aus einem Grab stammt auch der zum Aufhängen gelochte Vogel "Korinthischer" Art von Kainourgion;²⁸ bei der Fundgruppe von Anavra mit drei solchen Vögeln könnte es sich ebenfalls um Funde aus Gräbern handeln.²⁹ Es dürfte damit der Nachweis erbracht sein, daß die mit einer Aufhängevorrichtung ausgestatteten Bronzevögel Anhänger sind und nicht ausschließlich zur Weihung hergestellte Votive. In den Heiligtümern niedergelegt wurden sie ebenso wie Fibeln, Nadeln oder Ringe als Bestandteile der persönlich getragenen Tracht- oder Schmuckausstattung.

Pferd (Abb. 8):

Untere Hälfte der Vorderbeine und Basis bis in die Nahe der Hinterbeine fehlen; Nase bestoßen; auf der Außenseite der durchbrochenen Basis Winkelband aus Strichgruppen, auf Vorder- und Hinterbeinen je drei kräftige Schrägstriche, auf dem Schwanz Querstriche, auf der Mähne feine Zickzacklinie; auf Hals und Schenkeln gestempelte Würfelaugen. L. 3,8 cm, H. 4,8 cm, Br. der Basis 0,9 cm.

Trotz seines Miniaturformats ist dieses Pferdchen mit schwungvoller Linienführung und recht sorgfältig gearbeitet. Der kleine Kopf mit steil aufgerichteten Ohren sitzt auf einem sehr breiten, flachen Hals; der rundstabige

19. Mus. Benaki (7847), H. 3,5 cm. Für vielfältige Hilfe und für die Publikationserlaubnis danke ich L. Marangou.

20. H. Kienast, R. Felsch, *Arch. An. Athens* 8, 1975, 13 Abb. 21.

21. Kilian, *Fibeln* Taf. 85, 4.

22. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries* 140 Nr. 60.

23. M. Robertson, *BSA* 43, 1948, 118 Taf. 49, E4.

24. Zur Verbreitung des "Korinthischen Typs" vgl. J. Bouzek, *Eirene* 6, 1967, 119f.

25. So. z.B. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries* 117; D.G. Mitten, *Classical Bronzes* (1975) 26f.

26. Kurze Beschreibung der Fundsituation: BCH 78, 1954, 132.

27. Nationalmus. Athen (16493). Erwähnt bei O. Picard, in: *Collection H. Stathatos* IV (1971) 28.

28. K. Kilian, *PZ* 50, 1975, 27 Taf. 24, 3.

29. Ebd. Taf. 23, 10. 13. 15; weitere Vogelanhänger aus Gräbern (ohne Mazedonien): A. Furtwängler, *AA* 1882, 110 Nr. 4 (Eleutherai);



Abb. 7. Vogelanhänger (Seiten- und Rückansicht). Athen, Museum Benaki.

Rumpf ist relativ langgestreckt und dünn; die nur wenig gewölbten Schenkel gehen ohne merklichen Absatz in die bandförmigen, nicht durch Angabe von Gelenken gegliederten Beine über; der kräftige Schwanz ist mit der leicht überstehenden Basis verbunden. Selbst unter dem Vorbehalt, daß solche Miniaturstatuetten zwar zeitgemäßen Herstellungstechniken und Stiltendenzen folgen können, in ihrer notwendigen Vereinfachung aber kein ausreichendes Kriterium für Landschaftszuweisungen bieten, läßt sich doch Herstellung in Thessalien wahrscheinlich machen. Wie bereits H. Biesantz, D.G.Mitten und H.Hoffmann gezeigt haben, bezeugen zahlreiche Funde aus Thessalien die lokale Produktion von Pferdestatuetten,³⁰ die in ihrem "manieristischen Blechstil" dem von H.-V.Herrmann definierten korinthischen Typ³¹ nahe stehen. Aus Pherai selbst liegen auch die besten Entsprechungen zu dem hier vorgelegten Pferd vor: Kleinformatige Statuetten, teils mit strichverzierter Basis,

teils freistehend, mit bandförmigen Beinen und mit geritztem Winkelband auf der Mähne.³² Nahestehend ist das Pferdchen auf massiver Basis der Slg. D.und J.de Ménil, das ebenfalls aus Thessalien stammt.³³ Dieser Gruppe anzuschließen und damit wohl auch thessalischen Werkstätten zuzuweisen sind schließlich die zwei antithetischen Pferdchen auf gemeinsamer Basis in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Kopenhagen.³⁴

Noch dezidierter als die Vogelfiguren werden die bronzenen Pferdestatuetten als Votivtiere bezeichnet, allein bestimmt als Opfergaben für eine Gottheit, die häufig im Bereich des Heiligtums hergestellt und erworben,³⁵ dann auch an Ort und Stelle geweiht wurden. Neben dieser aus dem häufigen Vorkommen in Heiligtümern erschlossenen Funktion war jedoch eine weitere, ebenfalls archäologisch nachgewiesene Verwendung möglich. Bronzepferdchen begegnen nicht nur im griechischen Randgebiet wie Mazedonien³⁶ oder im Kolonialbereich

W.Müller, F.Oelmann, *Tiryns I* (1912) 132 (Tiryns); J.Böhlau, *Jdl* 3,1888, 361ff. (Theben); P.Themeles, *Arch.Delt.*20,1965 *Chron.*208 Taf.221,g (Pyla).

30. H.Biesantz, *Die Thessalischen Grabreliefs* (1965) 32f.; D.G.Mitten, S.F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (1968) 38ff. zu Nr.19–21; Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries* 117ff.

31. H.-V.Herrmann, *Jdl* 79, 1964, 28ff.

32. Kilian, *Fibeln* Taf.87,5–10.

33. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries* 124 Nr.42.

34. V.Poulsen, *Med.Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 19,1962,10 Abb.4.

35. Zur Bronzeverarbeitung im Bereich des Heiligtums siehe W.–D. Heilmeyer, *Jdl* 84,1969,1ff.

36. Hagios Panteleimon/Pateli (L.Rey, *Albania* 4,1932,57 Abb.10; M.Weber, *Istanbuler Mitt.*16,1966,89ff.Taf.10,6); Chauchitsa (S.Casson, *Antiqu.Journ.*1,1921,210 Taf.6,1; K.Kilian, *PZ* 50,1975,77 Taf.35,1).



Abb. 8. Pferdestatuette. Malibu.

wie Großgriechenland,³⁷ sondern auch auf dem griechischen Festland in Messenien³⁸ und Akarnanien³⁹ in Grabfunden. Die Zahl der Belege vergrößert sich, berücksichtigt man noch weitere Tierfiguren wie Hirsch oder Hund, die aus Gräbern von Exochi,⁴⁰ Kamilovrysi⁴¹ und der Umgebung von Theben⁴² vorliegen. Der Befund in Grab D von Chauchitsa sichert eine Tragweise als Anhänger, der an der Halskette befestigt auf die Brust herabhing.⁴³ Damit gewinnt dann die Annahme an Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß die gar nicht so seltenen Quadrupe den mit Aufhängevorrichtung⁴⁴—Ösen oder Durchbohrung—und jene auf durchbrochenen Bommeln⁴⁵ als Anhänger konzipiert und auch getragen wurden. Keineswegs ist hier beabsichtigt, nun für sämtliche Tierstatuetten eine Funktion als Anhänger zu postulieren. Es sollte

lediglich darauf aufmerksam gemacht werden, daß die selben Tierfiguren sowohl für sakrale als auch für profane Verwendung hergestellt wurden und daß es sich bei den Funden aus Heiligtümern ebenso um reine Votive wie um Weihungen persönlichen Besitzes handeln kann.

Die drei hier vorgestellten Kleinbronzen im J. Paul Getty Museum sind nicht einmalige Werke aus begnadeter Künstlerhand; es sind schlichte Erzeugnisse aus der Alltagsarbeit gewöhnlicher Bronzeworkstätten. In ihrer sorgfältigen technischen Ausführung, ihren ausgewogenen Proportionen, in der sicheren Zeichnung auf dem Fibelfuß und ihrer lebendigen Modellierung sprechen sie aber deutlich genug für den hohen Standart thessalischer Werkstätten am Ende des 8. Jhs.v.Chr., die kaum hinter Zentren wie Korinth oder Argos zurückstehen.

Athen

37. Tarent (F.G.Lo Porto, *Ann.Sc.Arch.Atene* 37–38, 1959–60, 10f. Abb.2, a–c; F.Canciani, *La Parola del Passato* 162, 1975, 237f. Aff.5–6).

38. Kalamata (P.Themeles, *Arch.Delt.* 20, 1965 Chron. 207 Taf. 213, b).

39. Chilia Spitia (I.Dekoulakou, *Arch.Delt.* 27, 1972 Chron. 439 Taf. 371, g).

40. K.Friis Johansen, *Acta Arch.* 28, 1957, 75 Abb. 168.

41. Th.Spyropoulos, *Arch.Delt.* 26, 1971 Chron. 215ff.

42. M.Collignon, *Mém.soc.nat.des antiqu.de France* 55, 1896, 159ff. Abb. 1–8; A.de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre. I Les figurines* (1913) 19 Nr. 85 Taf. 10; K.A.Neugebauer, *Die minoischen und archaisch griechischen Bronzen* (1931) 6 Nr. 8 Taf. 3; C.Rolley, in: *Collection H.Stathatos III* (1963) 92 Nr. 23–24 Taf. 12.

43. S.Casson, *Antiqu.Journ.* 1, 1921, 210.

44. z.B. R.Lullies, *AA* 1938, 427ff. Abb. 8; Rolley, *Fouilles de Delphes V* (1969) 82 Nr. 123 Taf. 21; H.Kienast, R.Felsch, *Arch.An.Athens* 8, 1976, 13 Abb. 20; H.Biesantz, *Die Thessalischen Grabreliefs* (1956) 32 Taf. 56, L81; D.Theocharis, *Arch.Delt.* 21, 1966 Chron. 249ff. Taf. 243, b; Kilian, *Fibeln* Taf. 87, 5, 6.

45. z.B. S.Benton, *BSA* 48, 1953, 348 Taf. 66, E197; Béquignon, *Phères* 68 Taf. 20, 5; A.Furtwängler, *Olympia IV* (1890) 60 Taf. 23, 413; D.G.Mitten, S.F.Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World* (1968) 38f. Nr. 20A.21; D.Theocharis, *Arch.Delt.* 20, 1965 Chron. 311ff. Taf. 368, g.

Two Omphalos Phialai

Carol Cardon

In 1976 Gordon McLendon presented the J. Paul Getty Museum with an important pair of Attic terracotta omphalos phialai (Figs. 1 and 2).¹ Though fragmentary, they have been most skillfully restored, giving an accurate sense of their original appearance.²

The shape in the form of a shallow bowl without handles was used for pouring libations³ and occasionally for drinking.⁴ The earliest examples come from the Near East,⁵ and it was not until the end of the eighth century B.C. that this shape began to appear with frequency in Greek art. Once introduced, however, it became an essen-

tial part of Greek custom and religious ceremonies. Its specific use is shown on Greek reliefs and on vase paintings in the numerous scenes of banquets of gods,⁶ sacrifices,⁷ warriors taking leave of their families (Fig. 7),⁸ and Eros administering a love potion.⁹ Wine was poured into the phiale held in the palm of the right hand of the person making the sacrifice. The phiale was then tipped, and the libation was allowed to spill onto the ground. A secure hold on the vase is insured by the placement of the thumb on the rim and the support of the four outstretched fingers over the bottom with the tips of the middle and ring

I should like to thank Dr. Jiří Frel for kindly inviting me to publish the Getty phialai. Knowing my dissertation work on the Berlin Painter, he showed me the vases. He believes, as I do, that the decoration should be connected with the work of this master. See, J. Frel, *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, vol. 4 (1977), p. 76, nos. 27 & 28. I am also deeply indebted to Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer both for his reading and criticism of this article and for the use of his photographic archives at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

1. Inv. no. 76.AE.16.1 and inv. no. 76.AE.16.2 to be referred to in this article as phiale I and phiale II respectively.

2. Ms. Terry Longyear was responsible for the restoration of phiale I and Mrs. Penny Potter for that of phiale II. Both work in the conservation department of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

3. The representation of a phiale being used for the offering of a libation is a frequent one on Greek reliefs and vases. For a discussion and a listing of scenes on Greek vases in which phialai are represented, see H. Gericke, *Gefäßdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen* (Berlin, 1970) pp. 27–31, pl. 55–66. This listing can be augmented considerably, but it does provide an excellent starting point.

4. Scenes on Greek vases of a phiale being used as a drinking vessel are less common. On an unattributed cup in Athens, Acropolis 396 (E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* [1933] 27), an acolyte is shown drinking from a phiale. Another example: Oxford 270. Nolan amphora. ARV² 820,51.

5. Heinz Luschey, *Die Phiale* (Bleicherode am Harz, 1939) is the most comprehensive monograph on this vase shape. Luschey discusses the etymology, the origins, the use, and the artistic history of the shape. The major part of the text is devoted to a catalogue of the metal phialai

known to him with an appendix discussion of terracotta phialai at the end. For an earlier discussion of the name and shape see, G.M.A. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935) 29–30; see also, D. von Bothmer, "A Gold Libation Bowl," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (December 1962) 154–166. For discussion of bronze omphalos bowls from Etruria: Brian F. Cook, "A Class of Etruscan Bronze Omphalos-bowls," *American Journal of Archaeology* 72 (1968) 337–344.

6. Two of the finest representations of this subject are on a late sixth century cup by the Sosias Painter (Berlin 2278. ARV² 21,1; 1620. The thickly applied glaze indicates a modelled surface on each phiale.) and another by Oltos (Tarquinia RC 6848. ARV² 60,66; 1622).

7. A frequent subject is Apollo standing by an altar, holding a lyre and phiale. Two other deities customarily seen in this sacrificial context are Triptolemos and Nike. See, H. Gericke (footnote 3).

8. This scene on vases customarily consists of a warrior, facing a female figure. He holds a phiale into which she pours the libation from an oinochoe.

9. Dietrich von Bothmer recently brought to my attention scenes on vases of Eros pouring a love potion from a phiale over the head of Menelaos as he is shown chasing Helen or over the head of a female figure: L. Ghali-Kahil, *L'Enlèvement et le Retour d'Hélène* (1955) pl. LXII (Leninograd, ex Botkin. A red-figured lekythos. Menelaos pursuing Helen); pl. LXIII (Louvre G 424. Red-figured bell-krater. Menelaos and Helen); pl. LXIII, 1 & 2 (Athens, Agora P 21352 and Marcopoulos. Fragments from two red-figured bell-kraters. Menelaos and Helen); Tübingen inv. 5439. ARV² 1057,97. A fragmentary red-figured bell-krater. Eros pours the phiale's contents over seated Ariadne's head.



Figure 1. Phiale I.



Figure 2. Phiale II.

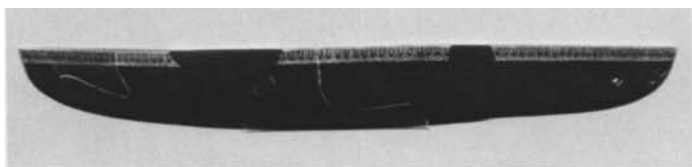


Figure 3. Phiale I, side.

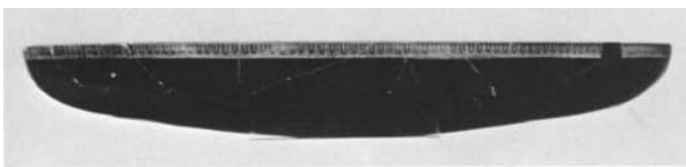


Figure 4. Phiale II, side.



Figure 5. Phiale I, detail.



Figure 6. Phiale II, detail.

fingers hooked in the hollow of the omphalos.¹⁰

Most of the extant phialai are made of metal: gold, silver, silvered tin, or bronze.¹¹ Nevertheless, a good number of terracotta phialai are preserved.¹² As the Getty phialai are among the finest clay phialai known, they deserve special recognition and examination. They stand apart from all others through their sheer size, their glaze and their decoration.

The similarity in their measurements and decorative scheme strongly argue for the two being the work of one potter and for their being designed as a pair. The graceful curve of the sides and the consistent, refined thinness of

their walls show the degree of excellence that Attic potters could achieve. The Getty phialai are also distinguished by their scale; they are more than twice the size of most others.¹³

The decoration of the exterior follows the ceramic convention. Both are covered with that lustrous black glaze so characteristic of Attic workshops (Figs. 3 and 4),¹⁴ but a novel detail that sets the two apart is the pattern-band of cymas on the outer edge of the rim. This same decorative pattern and scheme is found on red-figured cups by some painters of later date.¹⁵ It is also characteristic ornamentation for the lips of red-figured kalpides.¹⁶ The pattern on

10. The representations of phialai on Greek vases are the best indication of how a phiale is held, used, and carried. As Bothmer observed, the distance between the thumb and middle finger limits the diameter of the phiale. On most vases the phiale is shown in side view, held in a level position, and it is either full or ready to be filled. Empty phialai are carried in a vertical position. An example where a phiale is seen from the exterior and the position of the hand can be observed is: Cambridge 164. ARV² 276,77. A red-figured oinochoe by the Harrow Painter. For the interior view of phialai: ARV² 188,63; 211,194; 215,10; 383,203. The large diameter of the Getty phialai suggests that they must have been slightly unwieldy to hold in a level position when filled. On a number of vases attributed to the Pan Painter such large phialai are represented: ARV² 553–557, nos. 32,33,97,100,117,121.

11. The range of metals used and the extensive production of the shape are attested to by the rich finds in the sanctuaries at Argos, Perachora, Olympia and the Athenian Acropolis: Luschey, *op. cit.* p. 11 (footnote 5). Numerous references are made to metal phialai in the odes of Pindar and Plato, *Laus* VII, 8, 19. For the phialai listed in the temple inventories of the Parthenon, see I.G. I² 232–288; M.N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1946) 168–172, 195–196; Wesley Thompson, "The Early Parthenon Inventories" *American Journal of Archaeology* 69 (1965) 223–230. The inventories cited above are but a percentage of the number that remain.

12. For discussion of clay phialai: H. Luschey, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–155 (footnote 5); J.L. Caskey, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston I* (Boston, 1931) pl. 55, pl. 29,62; B.A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery. The Athenian Agora XII* (Princeton, 1970) 105–106, nos. 518–526, pls. 23, 52 fig. 6. Comparatively few complete, terracotta phialai from the sixth and fifth century Attic workshops are preserved. Even fewer are the phialai with black- or red-figured decoration. The earliest black figured phiale is in Havana (ex Brummer Coll.). Another black-figured example is in London (British Museum B 678. *Archäologische Zeitung* [1881] pl. 5,1). On the interior of this phiale the black figures are arranged in zones comparable to the figural compositions on the interior of cups from the Nikosthenic workshop (Berlin 1805. ABV 223,65; Berlin 1806. ABV 223,66). The connection between the production of phialai and the Nikosthenic workshop is further strengthened by the black phialai signed by Nikosthenes as potter, mentioned below. Only two phialai with red-figured decoration are attributed in Beazley's ARV²: Berlin 2310, from Athens. ARV² 819,50. By the Telephos Painter; Boston 97.371, from near Sunium. ARV² 1023,146. By the Phiale Painter; Athens 16442, fr. ARV² 596,14. This fragment according to Beazley seems to be the omphalos of a phiale. The head of Apollo is represented on it. Though black and red-figured decoration is less common, many Attic phialai are black-glazed with a tongue pattern round the omphalos on the interior and the exterior: Rome, Villa Giulia;

Brussels R 364; Berlin 2108; Munich no number; New York 1973.11.3. *Notable Acquisitions* 1965–1975 p. 130; Centre Island (N.Y.), Bothmer. Three such phialai are signed by Nikosthenes as potter: London B 368, from Vulci. ABV 234,1; Würzburg 429, from Vulci. ABV 234,1; Cabinet des Médailles 334. ABV 234,3. The connection between Nikosthenes and phialai was noted above in respect to the phiale with black-figured decoration on a white ground interior in the British Museum. The fragment of an omphalos with a gorgoneion decoration (Rome, Villa Giulia) is also reminiscent of the interior of a Nikosthenic cup of type A in Madrid (Madrid 10910. ABV 236,4. Signed by Nikosthenes as potter). Thus, the connection between Nikosthenes and the production of phialai is indeed close. Another terracotta phiale is the black-glazed one in Ferrara (Ferrara T 41 DVP). A considerable number of terracotta phialai are decorated in a special technique referred to as the Six technique (J. Six, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 13 (1881) 193, 281 ff.); Louvre L 210 (MNB 624 or MNB 637); Bologna 465; New York 1974.11.3. *Notable Acquisitions* 1965–1975, p. 130; Amsterdam 2425. CVA III N pl. 4,8; Maplewood (N.J.), J.V. Noble. The greatest number of phialai in the Six technique have been found on the Athenian Acropolis (E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* [Berlin, 1933] nos. 1111–1252. Finally, I know of only two other phialai with "coral-red": Cassel T 550. CVA pl. 47,5; Boston 98.886. ARV² 772,8. Signed by Sotades as potter.

13. Phiale I: Diameter 33.2 cm. Height 3.5 cm. Thickness 0.04–0.05 cm. Phiale II: Diameter 32.0 cm. Height 4.35 cm. Thickness 0.05 cm. The omphalos on phiale II can be estimated to have been ca. 4.8 cm. in diameter. Most phialai in metal and terracotta measure between 9.0 and 20.0 cm. The largest omphalos bowls have been found in Etruria, see B.F. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 343 (footnote 5).

14. The circular and very regular formation of the glaze lines indicates that the glaze was applied by turning the phiale on the potting wheel. The exterior of phiale I fired evenly, whereas that of phiale II did not. Sections of the exterior have a greenish tinge.

15. Cups with a band of cymas on the exterior of the rim: The Mykonos Painter ARV² 516,18; The Euaion Painter ARV² 789–796, nos. 4,11–18,25,27,28,32,34,44,49,54,55,57,87,91,94–97,114,116,117; Manner of the Euaion Painter ARV² 799,7; The Aberdeen Painter ARV² 920,9; The Phiale Painter ARV² 1023,149; The Painter of Berlin 2536 ARV² 1319,1; Aristophanes ARV² 1319,3. The cyma pattern is also found around the tondo of certain cups, and I thank Dietrich von Bothmer for the following three examples: Rome, Villa Giulia, fr. Only the raised right hand of a figure and a portion of the cyma border remains; Brunswick 574, fr. CVA pl. 19,13; Munich 7491 (A 938). All three are unattributed and date to the second half of the fifth century B.C.

16. The cyma pattern without the black relief lines but with small black dots is frequently found on the lips and along the base of the



Figure 7. Detail of a Pelike by the Altamura Painter. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the phialai differs from that found on early fifth-century kalpides. Black relief lines separate one cyma from the next, and a row of black dots along the bottom edge of the band further punctuates these divisions.¹⁷

Unlike the exterior, the treatment of the interior is unparalleled on any other terracotta phialai known to date. The bowl is covered with "intentional red," often referred to as "coral-red," a glaze technique that ranks with white ground as a special variant in Attic vase painting. A considerable amount of research and discussion has been done on this technique, hence the technical considerations need not concern us here.¹⁸ Rather it is the successful production and the identity of the potters skilled in this technique that are to be emphasized. In proportion to white ground vases, the preserved examples decorated with "coral-red" seem few in number. Moreover, the technique is restricted with few exceptions mainly to cups.¹⁹

panel decoration on the shoulder of red-figured kalpides: Euthymides ARV² 28, nos. 13,14,16; Hypsis ARV² 30,2; The Dikaios Painter ARV² 31,7; The Pioneer Group: Sundry ARV² 34, nos. 13–15; The Kleophrades Painter ARV² 188, nos. 69–73, 73 bis; Near the Kleophrades Painter ARV² 194, top. The cyma pattern with black relief lines but without the dots is less common in the work of the Pioneers and that of late archaic artists: Euphronios ARV² 16,12–13; Berlin 1966.20. *Paralipomena* p. 508 s.n. Smikros; Near Oltos. Stemmed plate. ARV² 68,13; ARV² 69,—, Oxford 1966.449 (ex Beazley).

17. The cyma pattern on the two phialai in Malibu is found on works of the later fifth century, but I know of no late sixth and early fifth century parallels.

18. G.M.A. Richter, "Accidental and Intentional Red Glaze on Athenian Vases," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 46 (1951) 150 ff.; G.M.A. Richter, "Red and Black Glaze," *Netherlands Yearbook for*

The reasons for this limited use are most likely technical. Too much attention in the firing was required and the risk of failure was too great to make the use of "coral-red" a widespread one in Attic pottery workshops. Beth Cohen has argued that the successful production of "coral-red" was limited to a few potters.²⁰ Only three potters' signatures are preserved on vases with "coral-red" and most of the other examples can be linked to their hands or workshops.²¹ Viewed in this light, the presence of "coral-red" on the interior of the Getty phialai would seem to provide an essential clue as to the identity of the potter, a question to which we shall return.

The "coral-red" glazing of the interior was the work of the potter. On the other hand, the ornamental patterns were more likely done by a painter. On most terracotta phialai, a band of black tongues borders the omphalos.²² Little artistic skill was required in the execution of this

History of Art V (1954), 132–133; Marie Farnsworth and Harriet Wisely, "Fifth Century Intentional Glaze," *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958) 165–173; Adam Winter, "Beabsichtigtes Rot," *Athenische Mitteilungen* 83 (1968) 315–322; Beth Cohen, "Observations on Coral-Red," *Marsyas* 15 (1970–1971) 1–12.

19. Two exceptions are: a small quasi-black-figured vase that according to Beazley is a "small 'nuptial lebes (type II)'; a pyxis? that seems to be by Douris." Louvre MNB 2042, from Athens. ABV 400; a fluted phiale signed by Sotades as potter. Boston 98.886, from Athens. ARV² 772,d.

20. B. Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–12 (footnote 18).

21. Signed "coral-red" vases: Kachrylion's ARV² 16,17. Munich 2620; Hegesiboulos's ARV² 175. New York 07.286.47; Sotades' ARV² 772,d. Boston 98.886; a stemless cup of later date is signed by a potter

pattern, but on the Getty phialai a far more lavish ornamental scheme is found. Two pattern-bands encircle the central omphalos, the innermost band in red-figure and the outer one in black silhouette. A groove and two black lines separate these two zones. Certain patterns are characteristic of the Pioneers and the early works of late archaic cup painters; others are more unusual and serve to link the ornamental decoration of the Getty phialai to the work of a specific painter and his workshop.

On phiale I the ornamental patterns are particularly distinctive. The inner band is filled with pairs of red-figured palmettes and lotuses; each pair is linked by a curving tendril and each points to the right. The palmettes have nine fronds, and the lotuses are distinguished by their bud and double-leaf formation (Fig. 5). The outer zone is decorated with a continuous, running black spiral that moves to the right. Short strokes of black fill the spandrels above and below the spirals. Both of these patterns occur within the late archaic period mainly in the work of the Berlin Painter. The bud form of the lotus is found on the obverse of the Berlin Painter's pelike in Vienna (ARV² 204, 109) (Fig. 8) and on the rim of his calyx-krater in Corinth (ARV² 205,115) (Fig. 9). The lotus on phiale I, however, differs from the above two examples in its double-leaf formation. This same formation occurs on another work by the Berlin Painter: on the neck of the volute-krater in the Villa Giulia in Rome (ARV² 206,131) (Fig. 10). The pelike and the calyx-krater date to the Berlin Painter's very early period (ca. 505/500–495 B.C.),²³ and the volute-krater to his early period (ca. 500–490 B.C.). These ornamental connections assist in assigning a comparable date to the Getty phialai (ca. 500–490 B.C.).

Though the continuous, running black spiral is rarely found in Attic vase painting, it is particularly characteristic of the Berlin Painter.²⁴ This same spiral form occurs

Hegesiboulos. ARV² 771,2. Brussels A 891. This cup is akin to the vases by the Sotades Painter.

22. *Supra* footnote 12.

23. The very early works by the Berlin Painter were recognized by Prof. Martin Robertson in his article on "The Origins of the Berlin Painter," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 70 (1950) 23–24.

24. Outside the Berlin Painter's work the continuous, running spiral is rarely used. The 'ghost' on a Nolan amphora in the Louvre (Louvre G 203. ARV² 306,1. Attributed to The Dutuit Painter, an artist influenced by the Berlin Painter and one who worked in the same pottery workshop) shows part of a band of a continuous, running black spiral. Spiral patterns occur in the work of other red-figure painters in the form of a row of isolated spirals or a guilloche pattern, where the spiral elements are not continuous, e.g. the kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter in Naples (Naples 2422, from Nola. ARV² 189,74).

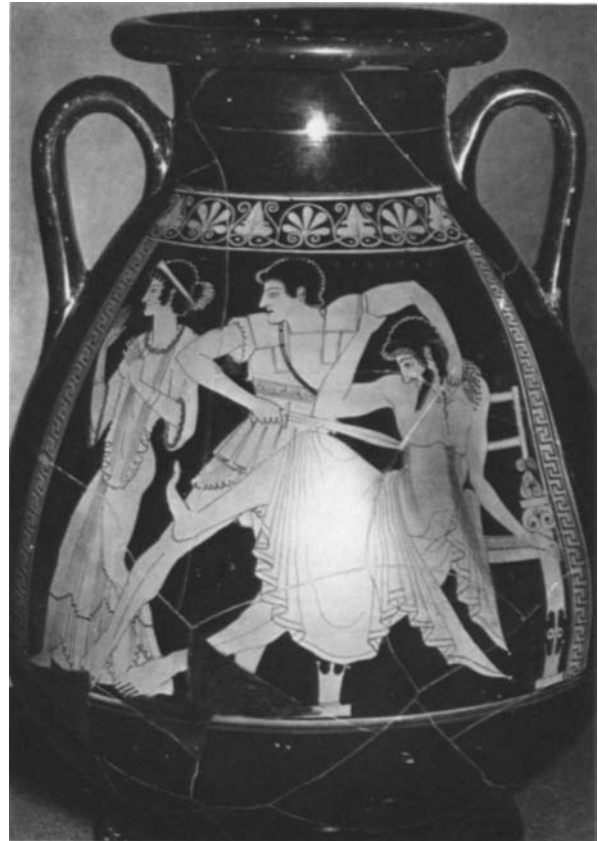


Figure 8. Vienna Inv. IV 3725. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Figure 9. Corinth Cp 436. Photo: American School for Classical Studies, Athens.

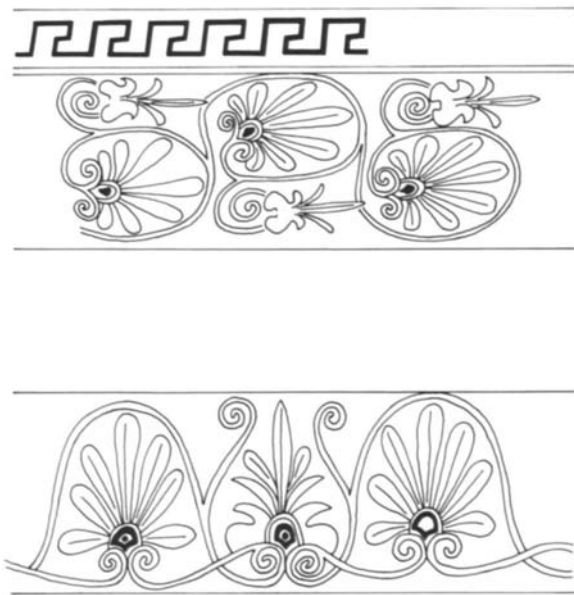


Figure 10. Neck decoration on the volute-krater by the Berlin Painter. Rome.

on the name-piece, the majestic amphora of type A in Berlin (ARV² 196,1) (Fig. 11), the best example of the Berlin Painter's early style. There is one other instance of this continuous, running spiral in the Berlin Painter's work on a fragmentary amphora of type A in the collection of Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer (Centre Island, N.Y.) (*Paralipomena* P. 520) (Fig. 12). Another occurrence of this pattern within the late archaic period is found on the handles for a volute-krater in the Louvre. These two volutes were connected by Hubert Giroux to the fragments of a volute-krater by the Berlin Painter in the Louvre (ARV² 206,130).²⁵ Jiří Frel, however, has recently demonstrated that these volutes belong with a fragmentary volute-krater by the Kleophrades Painter now in Malibu.²⁶ It should be emphasized that the spiral on these handles is not exactly comparable to spirals by the Berlin Painter in that the spiral is not continuous.

As Bothmer observed, the spiral is most fitting decoration for the volute in that it repeats the conformation of the handle's form. The same pattern is seen on the volutes

of bronze kraters²⁷ and on a volute-krater by the Niobid Painter.²⁸ Though the pattern is not exclusive to the Berlin Painter, it certainly evokes his hand before all others.

For phiale II (Fig. 2) different ornamental patterns are used. The inner band is filled with a row of upright, circumscribed palmettes in red-figure. Two short tendrils curl out and away from the top of every other palmette. This same pattern is often seen in the work of the Pioneers, the Kleophrades Painter, and on a number of late archaic cups of early fifth century date.²⁹ The pattern serves to reinforce the dating of ca. 500–490 B.C. for the Getty phialai. The outer band on the interior of phiale II repeats the cyma decoration of the phialai exterior. A variation of this pattern can also be found in the very early work of the Berlin Painter, on his white ground plate in Athens (ARV² 214,244) and on a fragment of a calyx-krater in Corinth (ARV² 205,116. *Paralipomena* p. 342).

Without doubt the Getty phialai can be connected to the work of the Berlin Painter on the basis of these strong ornamental comparisons. If he was the painter, then who

25. Hubert Giroux, "Le Cratère à Volutes du Peintre de Berlin au Louvre" *Revue Archeologique* (1972) 243–250, figs. 1–7. Here the spiral is not continuous, as observed by Giroux; this is a possible argument against the attribution of the handles to the Berlin Painter.

26. Jiří Frel, "The Kleophrades Painter in Malibu" *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 4 (1977) 75, note 7.

27. For the spiral on sixth century bronze volute-kraters: the large krater found near Vix, now at Chatillon; volute-krater, Munich inv. 4262. On both of these vases the running spiral decorates the lower part of the rim and the volutes of the handles.

28. The Niobid Painter: ARV² 599,2.

29. Euphronios: ARV² 14,3; 14,3 bis; New York 1972.11.10 (not in ARV² or *Paralipomena*); Smikros: ARV² 20,1; Euthymides: ARV² 26,1; 27,3; The Kleophrades Painter: ARV² 185,35–36. On red-figured cups: The Thalia Painter. ARV² 113,7; Onesimos. ARV² 316,3 and p. 1645. See also, the cups published by D. Williams, "The Ilioupersis Cup in Berlin and the Vatican" *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* (1976) 9–23, fig. 11.

30. ARV² pp. 107–108.

31. B. Cohen, *op. cit.* p. 6 (footnote 18). Miss Cohen traces the

was his potter? The answer lies possibly in the use of “coral-red.” The master potter of the late sixth century who excelled both in the potting of cups and in the use of “coral-red” was Kachrylion. Four cups decorated in this technique are signed by him as potter and more are linked to his hand.³⁰ In her study of “coral-red” Beth Cohen has shown that more than one-third of the “coral-red” vases can be connected with the workshop of Kachrylion.³¹

The most spectacular example of Kachrylion’s mastery of this special technique is the large kylix in Munich (ARV² 16,17) (Fig. 13). Signed by Kachrylion as potter and Euphronios as painter, the Munich cup can be dated ca. 510 B.C. by the Leagros kalos inscription on the interior.³² This masterpiece is the finest example of the collaboration between Kachrylion and Euphronios. In size, form, and liberal use of “coral-red,” the Munich cup provides us with the closest comparison to the Getty phialai, and links them to the workshop of Kachrylion and his successor, Euphronios.

Euphronios turned to potting after his years as a pot painter. He worked mainly with Douris and Onesimos in their early periods. Though no “coral-red” cups bear Euphronios’s signature as potter, it is not inconceivable that Euphronios, trained in the workshop of Kachrylion, learned to master the “coral-red” technique. Since the ornamental patterns on the Getty phialai clearly date the vases to the beginning of the fifth century B.C., then the connection of the phialai with the workshop of Euphronios would be a more logical one than with that of Kachrylion’s.

On the other hand, the connection with the Berlin Painter is more distinctly apparent. All of the ornamental patterns on the Getty phialai were favored more by pot painters than by cup painters. The spiral and lotus bud form are particularly characteristic of the Berlin Painter. Though this master is known chiefly as a pot painter, in his very early period he decorated a few plates: two of them are white ground and one is possibly an Acropolis dedica-

occurrence of “coral-red” throughout the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Most of them date to the end of the sixth century, and a considerable number of them are connected to the work of the potter Kachrylion. At a later date in the fifth century “coral-red” is found once again in the work of the two potters, Sotades and Hegesiboulos (ARV² 763–768) on a far more restricted level.

32. For a discussion of Leagros kalos: E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik* (Leipzig, 1920) 48–54. For a listing of the vases inscribed with Leagros kalos: ARV² 1591–1594 and *Paralipomena* p. 507.



Figure 11. Berlin 2160. Photo: Antikenmuseum Staatliche Museen.



Figure 12. Centre Island, N.Y., Bothmer. Photo: D. von Bothmer.



Figure 13. Munich 2420. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.

tion (ARV² 214,244; 1635).³³ That he also executed this pair of “coral-red” omphalos phialai as another special commission is a distinct possibility.

The two phialai were designed as a pair. The novel approach to the decoration of the interior, the use of

“coral-red,” and the impressive size of the phialai clearly speak for their being a special commission. Were they meant to be used or were they created to serve as a grave offering? I hold the latter to be true and view this pair as a most worthy gift and tribute to the deceased.

*The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York*

33. Denise Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats Attiques à Figures Noires* (Paris, 1974) 37, note 32.

Huckepack

Frank Brommer

Auf einer attisch-rotfigurigen Lekythos im J.P. Getty-Museum 71.AE.444, die etwa der Zeit von 470–60 v. Chr. angehören wird, sieht man das eigenartige Bild eines Mädchens, das auf einem Silen Huckepack reitet (Abb. 1). Der Pferdeschweif des Silens lässt sich unterhalb des Mädchengewandes deutlich erkennen. Seine Pferdeohren sind aber nicht zu sehen, da das Mädchen über diese hinweg dem Silen die Augen zuhält. Das Mädchen scheint eben erst auf den Rücken des Silens gesprungen zu sein. Das ergibt sich allerdings nicht, wie man zunächst denken möchte, aus ihrem noch lang nach unten ausgestreckten Bein. Es wird sich vielmehr zeigen, dass Mädchen allgemein beim Huckepackreiten ein Bein ausstrecken und nur bei dem anderen Bein vom Träger gefasst werden. Hier aber hat der Silen noch keine Armschlaufe gebildet, ja er hat den Unterschenkel noch nicht richtig gefasst, er versucht vielmehr erst, ihn in den Griff zu bekommen.

Das Bild ist inhaltlich in doppelter Weise interessant, einmal als Wiedergabe eines Kinderspiels und ferner als ein Nachhall eines Satyrspiels.

Das Huckepacktragen war in der Antike so geläufig wie heute. Wir kennen Darstellungen aus der archaischen, klassischen und hellenistischen Periode. Sie finden sich auf Vasen und Gemmen, in Terrakottastatuetten und sogar in Marmorstatuen. Diese Darstellungen sind so zahlreich, dass es sich nicht lohnt, sie alle aufzuzählen,

zumal ein Teil von ihnen schon gesammelt worden ist. Wohl aber lohnt es sich, die verschiedenen Darstellungstypen zu erkennen und mit jeweils mindestens einem Beispiel zu belegen.

Zunächst bilden eine Gruppe für sich die Bilder, bei denen nicht auf dem Rücken, sondern auf den Schultern geritten wird. Das ist für Mädchen nicht belegt, wohl aber für Knaben.¹ Dabei war dieses Reiten offenbar mit einem Ballspiel verbunden, denn mehrfach ist zu sehen, dass ein Sitzender oder Stehender einem Reiter, von denen es gelegentlich mehrere gibt, einen Ball zuwirft. Dieses Spiel kann mit dem gleich zu erwähnenden Ephedrismos nichts zu tun haben, denn dem Träger werden die Augen nicht zugehalten, auch ist kein Zielstein zu sehen. Die Bilder beginnen in der zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jh. v. Chr. und sind schon ein Jahrhundert später nicht mehr zu beobachten. Das Kinderspiel ist, wie manche anderen Kinderspiele im Satyrspiel nachgeahmt worden.² Zweifellos war es besonders komisch, wenn die wilden Silene sich wie die kleinen Kinder benahmen. Ausser diesen Bildern gibt es weitere Nachklänge.³

Was wir aus der antiken Literatur über das Kinderspiel Ephedrismos⁴ wissen, ist schon vor einhundert Jahren zusammengestellt und öfter wiederholt, aber seitdem nicht bereichert worden.

1. 1. Brit. Mus. B 182 Bauchamphora ABV 306,42. (Knabe auf Jüngling).—2. München 1827 Oinochoe van Hoorn, *Choes* Abb. 282 Nr. 690.—3. Louvre CA 1354 rf. Oinochoe van Hoorn, *Choes* Abb. 136 Nr. 839.—4. Oxford 250 Lekythos ABL 87 Tf. 29,2. (Jüngling auf Jüngling).—5. Kleinbronze früher Pb. Kopf RM 6,1891,270 ff. Tf. 7 (nur Jüngling, Reiter fehlt).

2. Brit. Mus. E 467 Kelchkrater ARV² 601,23.—Brommer, *Satyrspiele*² 80 Nr. 150 Abb. 36,37. Vgl. ebenda Nr. 151,153. (Silene auf Silenen).

Athen, Kerameikos. *Kerameikos* IX Nr. 183 Tf. 35,4 (Knabe auf Silen).

3. Leiden AMM1 Halsamphora LCS C 2/800 2 Silene tragen je einen Eros. — Zu vergleichen ist auch Berlin F 1697 Bauchamphora ABV 297,17 mit "Rittern."

4. Pollux, *Onomastikon* 119 Ephedrismos, 122 ἐν κοτύλῃ.—Athen. 11. 479 a.—Hesychius s.v. ἐφεδρίζειν.—Eustathios zu Ilias E 360 und X 494.



Abb. 1. Attisch rotfigurige Lekythos. Malibu.

Abb. 2-4. Attisch weissgrundige Lekythos. Prag, Privatsammlung.



Robert⁵ hat dies so zusammengefasst:

Demnach kam es also darauf an, einen aufgestellten Stein, der Grenzstein genannt wurde, mit anderen Steinen oder Bällen umzuwerfen; der Besiegte musste den Sieger, der ihm auf dem Rücken sitzend die Augen zuhielt, so lange tragen, bis er wieder an dem Grenzstein angelangt war. Hesychius, der das Spiel s.v. ἐφεδρίζειν erwähnt, fügt als Besonderheit der Art des Tragens hinzu, dass der Besiegte dabei die Arme auf dem Rücken hält, und bemerkt, dass das Spiel bei den Attikern ἐν κοτύλῃ heisse . . . wir lernen . . . den weiteren Umstand, dass der Getragene sich mit seinen Knien auf die verschlungenen Hände des Tragen- den stützte.

Die antiken Nachrichten belehren uns nicht darüber, ob das Spiel von Knaben oder Mädchen oder beiden gespielt wird. Aber schon Robert⁵ hat beobachtet, dass eine Berliner Kanne dieses Spiel wiedergibt. Wir sehen zwei Knaben, von denen der reitende dem Träger die Augen zuhält, auf den Dioros zustreben. Der Reiter liegt

5. Robert, AZ 37, 1879, 78 ff. Tf. 5.



auf dem vorgeneigten Rücken des Trägers, dessen Arme nach hinten gestreckt sind und die Schenkel des Reiters halten. Dessen Unterschenkel sind auffallenderweise beide nach oben gestreckt. Der Träger fasst den rechten Unterschenkel mit seiner rechten Hand und den linken mit der linken. Insofern entspricht also dieses Vasenbild, das immer als besonders typisch für den Ephedrismos angesehen wurde, nicht der Beschreibung des Hesych und der Name passt nicht darauf. Beide Knaben sind nackt, ebenso wie der dritte, der hinter dem Dioros auf dem Boden kauert.

Ebenfalls etwa um 420 entstanden ist eine Kanne gleicher Form in New Yorker Privatbesitz. Das Bild ist sehr ähnlich, nur dass der dritte Knabe fehlt und die Trageweise anders ist. Der Träger hat mit einer Armschlaufe den linken Oberschenkel und den angezogenen Unterschenkel des Reiters umfasst, der das rechte Bein herabhängen lässt. Abgesehen von den vertauschten

Beinen ist die Trageweise also der auf der Lekythos im J.P.Getty-Museum sehr ähnlich. Diese Trageweise erklärt den Namen *en kotyle*.

Das gleiche Ephedrismos-Spiel der Knaben findet sich auch in der Nachahmung durch die Silene, die wir schon in der Nachahmung des anderen Spiels, bei dem man auf den Schultern ritt, kennen gelernt haben. Das Bild auf der Halsamphora des Thorvaldsen-Museums⁶ ist älter als die beiden Kannen. Es ergibt sich also, dass das gleiche Spiel schon vor 460 v. Chr. bekannt gewesen sein muss. Auf der Amphora sind ebenfalls Ball und Zielstein wiedergegeben. Es sind also alle Elemente des Spiels vereint.

Ausser auf der Amphora sind Silene beim Ephedrismos noch auf mindestens einer Gemme zu sehen.

Weitere Kombinationen beim Ephedrismos sind selten. Eros auf Knabe auf dem Heidelberger Bruchstück⁷ ist doch wohl sicher auf dieses Spiel zu beziehen, wenn

6. Kopenhagen, Thorvaldsen-Museum 99 Halsamphora. ARV² 287, 24.—AuA 11, 1962 Tf. II 2.—Sardonyx Hannover. Zazoff a.O. Tf. II, 3.

7. Heidelberg Oinochoenfragment. Deubner, *Att. Feste* 245 Tf. 28, 7.—Kraiker Nr. 236 Tf. 43.

auch der Eros nicht ganz die Augen zuhält. Gaben die bisher erwähnten Darstellungen die Kinderspiele selbst wieder, oder ihre Nachahmung im Satyrspiel, so erscheint hier mit dem Eros ein neues Element, das wohl am ehesten allegorisch aufzufassen ist. Eros begegnet beim Ephedrimos auch bei einem Mädchen.⁸ Der Zielstein (Dioros) ist dort sogar auch wiedergegeben. Da die beiden Vasen mit diesem Thema apulisch sind, kann man wohl schliessen, dass der Ephedrimos mindestens in Apulien auch von Mädchen gespielt wurde.

Alle übrigen Bilder—mit Ausnahme der Lekythos im J.P.Getty-Museum und das ist die grosse Menge, stellen zwar das Huckepackreiten dar, aber nicht das Zuhalten der Augen. Nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit handelt es sich bei ihnen nicht um den Ephedrimos. Aber auch diese Huckepackgruppe ist nicht einheitlich. Es mögen sich in ihr also verschiedene Spiele verbergen.

Zunächst bilden mindestens fünf Skyphoi⁹ eine Gruppe für sich. Sie sind die frühesten von allen Huckepackbildern und wurden bisher auch auf den Ephedrimos bezogen. Zwar ist auf beiden Gefässen der Zielstein wiedergegeben,—allerdings nicht der Ball—es muss sich aber doch um einen anderen Vorgang handeln, denn die Augen werden nicht zugehalten, auch sind auf den Skyphoi je zwei Reiterpaare wiedergegeben und nicht nur eins. Ausserdem geht vor jedem Paar noch ein Jüngling, der beim Ephedrimos-Spiel überflüssig wäre. Hier aber scheint er eine Funktion zu haben. Er blickt sich auch jeweils zu dem Reiterpaar um und in mindestens zwei Fällen hält er einen Stock, wie wir ihn als Schlagstock beim Schlagball benutzen. Während der Ephedrimos offenbar ein Spiel zwischen zwei Partnern war, handelt es sich hier um ein Spiel einer Mannschaft. Es scheint mir deutlich zu sein, dass es sich um ein anderes Spiel handelt. Der Reiter wird jeweils allerdings so getragen wie auf der Berliner Oinochoe, also nicht en kotyle. Insofern, als es sich um ein Mannschaftsspiel handelt, sind die beiden Skyphoi mit den Schulterreitern zu vergleichen, denen sie auch zeitlich nahe stehen. Die Haupt-

menge der Huckepackbilder sind jedoch Terrakottastatuetten hellenistischer Zeit von Mädchen. Bereits Winter¹⁰ hat über 20 Stück zusammengestellt, seitdem hat sich die Zahl natürlich beträchtlich vermehrt.

Das Gemeinsame der Statuetten ist, dass immer ein Mädchen auf einem anderen reitet und zwar mit einem angezogenen Bein in der Armschlaufe, das andere nach unten ausgestreckt. Die Hände der Getragenen liegen meist auf den Schultern der Trägerin. Gelegentlich hält die Getragene in der ausgestreckten Hand einen Ball, wie zum Werfen. Tragen und Ballwurf sind also hier trotz sonstiger Unterschiede miteinander wie beim Ephedrimos verbunden. Man könnte zunächst daran denken, dass hier nur eine andere Phase des gleichen Spiels dargestellt sei, aber bei dieser Annahme bliebe merkwürdig, dass es bisher keine einzige derartige Mädchenterrakotte mit zugehaltenen Augen gibt. Dieses Argument wirkt umso schwerer, als zu den vielen Statuetten von Mädchen mit Mädchen noch solche mit anderen Reitern hinzukommen, so beispielsweise nicht wenige von Eros, der auf einem Mädchen reitet,¹¹ ein Thema, das auch aus der Vasenmalerei bekannt ist.¹² Das Thema scheint bei den Terrakotten öfter in Sizilien vorzukommen. Manchmal sind die Köpfe von Eros und Trägerin einander wie zum Kuss angenähert, ein Motiv, das bei den übrigen Huckepackreitern, also der grossen Menge, nicht vorkommt. Ein Ball scheint bei den Eroten nie vorzukommen.

Das früheste griechische Beispiel für Huckepackmädchen sind jedoch nicht die zahlreichen Terrakottastatuetten, sondern ist vielmehr die Marmorgruppe von der Agora.¹³ Auch die Marmorgruppe im Konservatorenpalast, deren Köpfe fehlen, ist so zu ergänzen, denn mindestens die linke Hand der Reiterin liegt auf dem linken Arm der Trägerin auf, bedeckte also nicht deren Augen. Damit ist dieses Spiel in den Darstellungen von der zweiten Hälfte des 5. bis zum 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. belegt. Es gehört also, soviel man bisher sehen kann, einer späteren Zeit an als die beiden erwähnten Mannschaftsspiele, überschneidet

8. Providence apulischer Skyphos. CV (1) 28,2.—Ashmead-Phillips 59.

9. Kopenhagen, NM 6571 (CV(3) 119,9.—Agora P 1546 Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, 291 Tf. 41 Nr. 67.—ABV 518.—Zazoff, *AuA* 11, 1962 35 Anm. 9 hielt offenbar beide Skyphoi für miteinander identisch und bezog sie ebenfalls auf den Ephedrimos. Eckstein, *Ant. Pl.* VI 78 Anm. 24 bezeichnete den ersten Skyphos als verschollen.

10. Winter, *Terrakotten* III 2 136.

11. Winter, *Terrakotten* III 2, 137. Auch hier sind inzwischen natürlich weitere hinzugekommen.

12. 1. Bari, Gnathia-Pelike. *La parole del passato* 65, 1959, 143 ff.—*Rendic. Pont. Acc.* 32, 1959/60, 91 fig. 5.

2. Wien, Lekythos Laborde, *Vases Lamberg* Tf. 47 = Reinach, *Rép. vas.* II 191.

13. Athen, Agora Marmorgruppe H. Thompson, *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 243 ff., weitere Literatur bei Eckstein, *Ant. Pl.* VI 81 Anm. 35.—Rom, Konservatorenpalast Marmorgruppe Eckstein, *Ant. Pl.* VI 75 ff.

14. Winter, *Typen* III 2 65, 7.

15. Winter, *Typen* III 2 137, 3 (vgl. 4).—Kos: Laurenzi, *ASA* tene 33/34,

sich aber mit der Zeit des Ephedrismos. Ausser den schon erwähnten Eroten, die auf Mädchen reiten, gibt es auch Niken oder Psychen,¹⁴ die das tun. Auffallenderweise kommt es auch vor, dass ein Mädchen auf einem Knaben reitet.¹⁵ Da dies durch mindestens eine Terrakotta belegt ist, kann man es auch für die Marmorgruppe aus Kos wegen der Bekleidung der getragenen Person annehmen, obwohl Laurenzi mit einem Knaben rechnet.

Dass ein Mädchen auf einem Silen reitet, zeigt das Ephedrismosbild auf unserer Lekythos. Beim Huckepack kommt dieses Motiv erst sehr viel später in Terrakotten vor.¹⁶ Die Lekythos ist für mindestens anderthalb Jahrhunderte ein einsamer Vorläufer.

Die letzte, mehrfach auf Gemmen zu beobachtende, Kombination sind Silene Huckepack auf Silenen.¹⁷

Reinach¹⁸ hat alle diese so verschiedenen Bilder, soweit er sie kannte, auf den Ephedrismos bezogen.

H.A. Thompson¹⁹ hat gemeint, dass für die Knaben das Zuhalten der Augen wesentlich sei, während dies bei den Mädchen nicht vorkäme und daher auch bei ihnen der Ephedrismos nicht gemeint sein könne. M. Bieber und andere sind ihm gefolgt, obwohl die hier gegebene Übersicht zeigt, dass die Lage in Wirklichkeit komplizierter ist.²⁰ Mingazzini meinte, dass beim männlichen Ephedrismos der Reiter auf der Schulter sässe. Das Huckepack der Mädchen nannte er wieblichen Ephedrismos. Zazoff²¹ wollte auch in den schwarzfigurigen Huckepackbildern der Knaben mit unverdeckten Augen den Ephedrismos ebenso erkennen, wie bei den Terrakottastatuetten der Mädchen.

Hingegen nannte Hoffmann²² den Ephedrismos "ein griechisches Mädchenballspiel . . . wonach die Besiegte die Siegerin auf den Schultern tragen musste." Abgesehen davon, dass die Mädchen nie auf den Schultern getragen wurden, wird so der Anschein erweckt, als ob der Ephedrismos von Knaben nicht gespielt wurde. Die Terrakotta, von der er ausging, ist ein reines Huckepackbild ohne zugehaltene Augen.

Eckstein²³ bezeichnete im genauen Gegensatz zu

Thompson das einfache Huckepack der Mädchen als Ephedrismos, während B. Freyer-Schauenburg²⁴ "die Gleichsetzung der verschiedenen Terrakottagruppen mit diesem Spiel Ephedrismos (das wohl identisch ist mit dem Spiel Enkotyle) . . ." als "bisher noch nicht gesichert" bezeichnete.

Man sieht, dass die bisherigen Meinungen weit auseinandergehen, was zum Teil daran liegt, dass jedem Forscher nur ein Teil der Denkmäler bekannt war. Der hier gegebene Überblick beruht auf der Kenntnis von mehr als 80 Denkmälern dieser Art.

Wir konnten feststellen bei den Schulterreitern:

Knaben auf Jünglingen oder auf Silenen, Jünglinge auf Jünglingen, Silene auf Silenen, Eroten auf Silenen.

Sowohl bei Ephedrismos (mit zugehaltenen Augen), wie beim Huckepack (mit nicht zugehaltenen Augen) waren zu beobachten:

Knabe auf Knabe, Silen auf Silen, Eros auf Mädchen. Nur bei Ephedrismos war zu sehen: Eros auf Knabe. Dazu kommt nun mit der hier abgebildeten Lekythos: Mädchen auf Silen. Nur beim Huckepack war zu beobachten: Mädchen auf Mädchen oder auf Silen oder auf Knabe, sowie Psyche auf Mädchen.

Alle drei Reitweisen, nämlich Schulterreiten, Ephedrismos und Huckepack können mit einem Ballspiel verbunden sein, aber nicht notwendigerweise mit demselben.

Ja sicher war das Huckepackspiel der einzelnen Terrakottamädchenpaare ein anderes, als das der Paarmannschaften aus den schwarzfigurigen Skyphoi. Es sind also mindestens vier Spiele zu unterscheiden:

1. Mannschaftsspiel der männlichen Schulterreiter.
2. Mannschaftsspiel der männlichen Huckepackreiter.
3. Paarspiel des Ephedrismos mit zugehaltenen Augen.
4. Huckepack der Mädchen, offenbar nicht Mannschaftsspiel.

Es wäre nicht überraschend, wenn im Lauf der Zeit noch weitere als diese 17 hier aufgezählten verschiedenen

1955/6, 115 ff.

16. Winter, *Typen* III 2 137 1.2.—Dazu Hamburg 1927.40 Hoffmann-Hewicker Nr.35.

17. Zazoff, *AuA* 11, 1962 Tf.3.

18. Reinach in Darmberg-Saglio s.v. Ephedrismos.

19. H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 248 ff.—Ähnlich Bieber, *Studies Robinson* I 556 f., Laurenzi, *ASAtene* 93/4, 1955/6, 115 ff. und Stucchi, *EAA* III (1960) 356 f.

20. Mingazzini, *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* 32, 1959/60, 81 ff.

21. Zazoff, *AuA* 11, 1962, 35–42.

22. Hoffmann (-Hewicker), *Kunst des Altertums in Hamburg* 11.

23. Eckstein, *Ant. Pl.* VI 78 f.

24. B.F.-S. in W. Hornbostel, *Kunst der Antike*. Schätze in norddt. Pb. Nr. 136.

Kombinationen auftauchen würden, wie es beispielsweise mit der hier zu behandelnden Lekythos der Fall ist. Man kann aus dem Bild vielleicht schliessen, dass der Ephedrimos ausser von Knaben auch in Athen und nicht nur in Apulien, wo es nachgewiesen ist, auch von Mädchen gespielt wurde. Aber solange dies die einzige attische Darstellung ist, muss jedoch mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet werden, dass es sich nur um einen Scherz des Satyrspiels handelt.

Nie ist beim Huckepack unsere heutige Trageweise zu beobachten, bei der die Beine des Reiters nach vorne

ragen. Dies gilt auch für die zahlreichen hier nicht berücksichtigten Bilder, die nichts mit Spielen zu tun haben, wie vor allem Aeneas und Anchises, aber auch Herakles und Hades.²⁵

Für das Satyrspiel war von den verschiedenen hier betrachteten Kinderspielarten des Ephedrimos und auch das Schulterreiten, beides von Silenen auf Silenen, bisher schon belegt.²⁶ Die neue Lekythos bringt nun den ersten Nachweis auch für ein Mädchen bei diesem Spiel im Bühnenspiel.²⁷

Mainz

SATYRSPIELBILDER

Ich benütze die Gelegenheit, um einen Nachtrag zu den in Brommer, *Satyrspiele*² (1959) zusammengestellten etwa 250 Vasen zu liefern. Wo eine Einordnung in die dortige Folge thematisch möglich war, ist dies mit Zusatzbuchstaben hier geschehen. Die übrigen sind in willkürlicher Folge am Schluss aufgezählt. Damit ergibt sich nun eine Zahl von mehr als 320 bekannten Satyrspielbildern.

1. 14 b Boston 64.2032	Pelike	ARV ² 285,2 u. A, Silen mit Schurz und Schwert. B, Dionysos und als Hermes verkleideter Silen.
2. 14 c Christchurch, NZ	Oinochoe	Trendall, Logie coll. Nr. 46 TF. 38. "actors dressed up as satyrs."
3. 17 a Melbourne	Glockenkrater	ARV ² 1450,6. Aufstieg der Aphrodite und Hämmer schwingende Silene
24 a Rom, Villa Giulia	Kelchkrater	RI 59,147. Silene ohne Hämmer.
24 b Basel, Cahn 276 & 278	Glockenkrater	Trendall-Cambitoglou, <i>Apulia</i> I 11 Nr. 25a Taf. 4,1. Anodos, drei Silene mit Hämmern.
4. 28 a Bern, Lifschitz	Schalenfr	Iris
5. b Kh. 1963	Schale	Finarte 14.III.63 Nr. 65. Tf. 29 Iris
6. c Sarasota	Schale	ABV 630,52. Iris
7. d Cincinnati	Schale	ABV 630,3. Iris
8. 34 a Vatikan U 14	Glockenkrater	Trendall, <i>Vasi antichi</i> Tf. 23 g.- Trendall-Cambitoglou 65 XII
9. 37 a Bari	apul. Kraterfr	Perseus
10. b Marseille 1427	luk. Amphora	Schauenburg, <i>Perseus</i> Tf. 32,2. Perseus
11. c Leningrad St. 1609	Glockenkrater	Schauenburg, <i>Perseus</i> Tf. 32,1. Perseus
12. 40 a Kh	apul. Glockenkrater	Millingen Tf.3.- Jahn Tf. I3.
13. 54 a Laon 371040	Glockenkrater	CV 38,1. Amymone.
14. b Athen, Kerameikos 4290	Oinochoe	Knigge, AM 90,1975 Tf .44 ff.
15. 58 b New Haven, Yale Univ. 167	Schale	Greifenhagen, <i>Alte Zeichnungen</i> Abb. 11,12. Silen am Weinbrunnen.

25. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³ 182 f., 386 ff.—*Denkmälerlisten* III 21 ff. Bei den griechischen Vasenbildern bleibt es oft unklar, wie Anchises eigentlich gehalten wird, zumal Aeneas meist in der Linken Schild oder Lanze oder beides trägt und Aeneas oft ein Zepter in der Rechten hat. Beide haben also meist nur einen Arm frei. Bei den römischen Darstellungen sitzt Anchises oft mit beiden Beinen auf einer Schulter

seines Sohnes.

26. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*² (1959) 80 Nr.150–154.

27. J. Frel danke ich herzlich für die Erlaubnis zur Veröffentlichung dieser interessanten Vase.

16. 67 a Montpellier, Musée Fabre 836.4.339	sf. Lekythos	Silene tragen Waffen des Herakles weg.
17. b Ferrara T 269	Schale	ARV ² 1270,15. Silene berauben Herakles
18. c Padula	Volutenkrater	ARV ² 1699 zu 1608. Silene berauben Herakles
19. 82 a Prag, Pb	sf. wgrLek	Par 248. Herakles führt gefangene Silene ab Abb. 2-4*
20. b Kh. 1974	it. Kelchkrater	Ars antiqua <i>Lagerkatalog</i> 3. Dez. 67 Nr. 84 = Myers/Adams 8. Auktion (1974) Nr. 111. H. führt gefesselten Silen ab
21. 86 a Madrid 11266	Schale	ARV ² 225,5. Herakles von Silen bedient
22. 105 a Früher Basseggio	Kelchkrater	Greifenhagen, <i>Alte Zeichnungen</i> Nr. 18 Abb. 31. Papposilen hat Knaben auf seinem Fuss stehen, um ihn hochzuschwingen
23. 109 a München, Bareiss	Schalenfr	ARV ² 371,23. Silen wirft Diskos. Cambitoglou, <i>Brygos</i> Tf. 17,3
24. 113 a Charlecote Park	apul. Kelchkrater	Trendall-Cambitoglou, <i>Apulia</i> I 213 Nr. 156 Tf. 69, 1.2. Zwei boxende Silene
25. 118 a London, Hamilton-Smith	sf. Oinochoe	Boardman, 5. <i>Bull Inst Class Stud.</i> Tf. 1, Silen in Frauengewand
26. 119 a Boston 01.8024	Schale	ARV ² 173,9. Silen balanciert Kantharos auf Phallosspitze
27. 123 Kh. Cahn 1967	it. Schale	Foto Widmer 3900. Silen mit Netz
28. 124 a München, Pb.	it. Glockenkrater	Schauenburg, <i>Pantheon</i> 1966,253 AJA 73,1969,426. Silen schlachtet Thunfisch
29. 133 a Delphi	sf Oinochoe	<i>Deltion Chron.</i> 18,1963 Tf. 167 = BCH 89,1965,780 fig. 4. Silen mit Bratspiessen an Altar
30. 135 a Kopenhagen 363k	it. Glockenkrater	Trendall, <i>Frühital.</i> Vm. 31 Nr. 16. Silen bei Herme
31. 135 b Ruvo	it. Glockenkrater	Trendall, <i>Frühital.</i> Vm. 31 Nr. 15. Silen bei Herme
32. 138 a Lausanne	Pelike	<i>AntK.</i> 9,1966,93 ff. Tf. 21. Silen zerhackt Herme mit Doppelbeil
33. 144 a Neapel, Capodimonte 959	Halsamphora	AuA 13,1967,2 Anm. 13 Abb. 8. Silenknabe trägt Stuhl
34. 149 a Athen, NM 1655	Napf	Behaarter Silen am Stock
35. 149 b Basel, Pb	Oinochoe	Behaarter, alter Silen am Stock
36. 150 a Athen, Kerameikos	sf Lekythos	<i>Kerameikos</i> IX Tf. 35,4. Knaben reiten auf Schultern von Silenen
37. 158 b Samothrake	sf Pelike	BCH 82,1958,773 fig. 8.- ARV ² 232,1. Ziegenbock tanzt zum Flötenspiel, dabei Silen
38. 162 a Kh	Askos	Auktion MM XVIII Nr. 125. A, Silen B, Ziegenbock
39. 168 a Padula	Skyphos	ARV ² zu 649,2. Silen tanzt zum Flötenspiel eines Hirten
40. 173 a Athen, Kannelopulos	Oinochoe	Silen auf Flügelphallos
41. 173 b Boston Res. 08.31 b	Skyphos	<i>AntK.</i> 12,1969,14 Tf. 11,4. Silen und Phallosvogel.

Die folgenden zehn Vasen (42 -51 vgl. hier Nr. 14 b und alte Nr. 186) geben einen oder mehrere Silene mit Pelta oder anderen Waffen wieder.

42. Leipzig, Kunstgewerbemuseum	Schale	ARV ² 131: Pelta
43. Athen, Agora P 9281	Schalenfr	ARV ² 133,9: Pelta
44. Florenz 4 B 28 u. Louvre C11255	Schalenfr	ARV ² 133,10: Pelta
45. Florenz 4 B 28 u. Louvre C 11256	Schalenfr	ARV ² 133,11: Pelta
46. Athen, Agora P 2578	Schale	ARV ² 142,1
47. Louvre G 89	Schalenfr	ARV ² 170,3: Pelta
48. Harrow 55	Halsamphora	ARV ² 183,11
49. Basel, Pb	Schale	Foto Widmer 1406: Schwert
50. Berlin 1966.19	Amphora	<i>JbBerl</i> 9,1967,12 Abb. 8. Pelta, Speer
51. Columbia, Univ. of Missouri	Schale	<i>Muse</i> 10,1976,26 (Abb.). Pelta

52. 199 b Athen, Kerameikos	Kessel	AA 1964,457 Abb. 44. Prometheus
53. 199 c Basel, Cahn	Krater	Brommer, <i>AntK.</i> 7. Beiheft 1970,58 Tf. 29. Prometheus
54. 211 a Kh. 1967	sf Pelike	Sotheby 12.VI.67 Nr. 139. Flöteblasende Silene und Ziegen
55. 213 a Tarent	it. Oinochoe	Jdl 71,1976,60 Abb.1-3. Bellerophon
56. b Neapel	luk. Nestoris	Jdl 71,1976,72 Abb. 15. Bellerophon
57. c Rom, Villa Giulia	fal. Krater	Jdl 71,1976,74 Abb. 17
58. Rom, Villa Giulia 64224	Schale	Riccioni-Amorelli, <i>La tomba Panatenaica</i> Nr. 24. Silen mit Syrinx, hüpfende Böcke
59. Athen, NM 9690	sf Lekythos	Silene bei Riesenphallos
60. Pb	Skyphos	MM Auktion XXII Nr. 177.- <i>AntK.</i> 6,1963 Tf. 2 A und B. Bekleideter Silen
61. Paternò	Glockenkrater	Rizza, <i>Bd'arte</i> 46,1961, 300 ff. Silen von Jagd kommend
62. Boston 62.613	Schale	<i>CIJourn.</i> 59,1964,205 fig. 7. Silen macht Säule
63. Caltanissetta 20371	Stangenkrater	<i>Archclass</i> 17,1965 Tf. 57,1. <i>AntK</i> 12,1969,16 ff. Tf. 13,14. Hephaistos schmiedend
64. Prag,NM 1055	Pelike	Boháč, <i>Kerčské Vázy</i> 140 Abb. 39-41. Arimasp
65. Kh 1970	Pelike	Sotheby 4.V.1970 Nr. 137 (Abb.). Ein Silen liegend, einer mit Stock auf dessen Rücken stehend, ein 3. mit ausgestreckten Händen dahinter.
66. Polygyros, Lambropulu	Pelike	<i>Deltion Chron.</i> 24,1969 Tf. 264. Aphrodite
67. aus Ugento	it. Hydria	<i>Atti Mem. Soc. Magna Grecia</i> 11/12,1970/1,131 Tf. 54-56. Sisyphos' Hochzeit
68. Kh 1974	Pelike	Arete Liste 10 S.12.- Myers/Adams 8. Auktion Nr. 106. Zwei Silene beim Astragalspiel
69. Frankfurt, Kh. 1975	Schalenfr	Silen mit Sieb (?)
70. Verschollen	Pelike	Greifenhagen, <i>Alte Zeichnungen</i> Abb. 26. Silen als Ölverkäufer
71. Würzburg	fr	ARV ² 1339,5. Silen in langem Gewand als Kitharode
72. Münster 751	paest. Oinoche	<i>AntK.</i> 20,1977,61 Tf. 15. Herakles.
73. Kh Basel, MM. 1979	Hydria	Sphinx auf Felsen mit linkem Vorderbein auf Baum. Vor ihr fünf gleichförmig weisshaarige Silene auf Sesseln mit Lehnen, jeder mit Zepter, Münder geöffnet. Messeverzeichnis Nr. 95, nach Japan verkauft. Vgl. in <i>Satyrspiele</i> ² Nr. 178-181.
74. Basel, Cahn 265	fr	Meded. Ned. Inst. Rom 41, 1979 Taf. 6, 19. Bellerophon wie hier Nr. 54, 55.

Huckepack der Mädchen mit Ballspiel hat es vor den Griechen schon bei den Ägyptern gegeben, wie das Wandgemälde von Beni-Hassan zeigt. (F. Cailliaud, *Recherches sur les arts et les métiers*, Paris 1831, Taf. 41.—Percy E. Newbury, *Beni Hasan II*, London 1893 pl. IV, VIII A.—Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches*, *Abh. d. Heidelberger Akademie d. Wiss.* 6. Abh., Heidelberg 1922, 147 Abb. 108.—Edward Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Nachd. d. Ausg. 1930, Oxford 1955, 6. Die Literaturnachweise verdanke ich D. Arnold). Die ägyptischen Mädchen reiten allerdings auf andere Weise als die griechischen. Ein Dioros ist nicht zu sehen. Bei dem schlechten Erhaltungszustand des Gemäldes ist jedoch durchaus denkbar, dass ursprünglich einer vorhanden war. Gardiner hat zu diesem Bild bereits auf den griechischen Ephedrismos hingewiesen und auch Eroten beim gleichen Spiel im Haus der Vettier zu Pompeji erwähnt.

An Etruscan Red-Figured Vase with Charon

Mario A. Del Chiaro

Presently on loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum is an Etruscan red-figured calyx-krater deserving fuller consideration than previously afforded when its owner, Mr. George Gore of Los Angeles, graciously permitted it to form part of an exhibition of Etruscan art at the Art Museum of the University of California, Santa Barbara.¹ Although the pairing of satyr and maenad on one side of the Gore vase (Fig. 2) is not an uncommon theme on Greek, South Italian, and Etruscan painted vases, the subject represented on the opposite and principal side of the krater (Fig. 1) is of special interest because *Charon* and *Eros* appear together for the first time.

In sharp contrast to the more graceful Greek (Attic) red-figured calyx-kraters, the Gore specimen is characteristically Etruscan, with its ungainly and clumsy proportions accentuated by the overly large handles, its deep and sagging bowl below the handle zone, and its necessarily heavy and inverted torus base.² Mended from numerous relatively large sherds, the krater is remarkably complete and, in most instances, the painting yet sharp. The ordinarily fugitive added white color employed for the flesh of the female figures, wings, and various details is

surprisingly well-preserved. Consistent with the character of the figured scene depicted on the principal side (Side A; Fig. 1), the subsidiary decoration at the handle zone below the figured scene—enhanced with added white details—is far more elaborate than the upright palmette-and-lotus pattern rendered in silhouette at the opposite side (Side B; Fig. 2). Such silhouette floral decoration—oddly associated with the rich, red-figured floral motifs at the opposite side of the krater—heralds the cursorily painted floral patterns which serve as the sole or subsidiary decoration on later Etruscan vases.³

Apart from the frequent appearance of *Eros*, a figure well known in Greek art, in Etruscan vase-painting,⁴ the representation of Etruscan *Charon* in sculpture (chiefly reliefs) and painting (on walls and vases) is far more rarely encountered.⁵ To the best of my knowledge, the pairing of these two figures—*Charon*, the Etruscan Death-demon, and *Eros*, the winged youth and son of *Aphrodite* (Etruscan *Turan*) who is thereby generally equated with Love—marks a unique appearance. That figures with such diverse iconographical meaning should share the same figural scene is provocative yet perplexing. If the central

1. M. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Art from West Coast Collections* (Santa Barbara, 1967), p. 55, no. 106 with color illustration of the principal side—Side A. I wish to thank Dr. Jiri Frel, Curator of Classical Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for the opportunity to publish the calyx-krater presently loaned by Mr. George Gore of Los Angeles.

2. The shape of the Gore calyx-krater is closely related to a type depicted in a wall painting in the "Tomba del Guerriero" at Tarquinia: see *Studi Etruschi* 37 (1969), pl. CIV,a.

3. J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947)—hereafter Beazley, *EVP*—p. 143; M. Del Chiaro in *Archeologia Classica* XIV (1962), p. 79, note 3; and M. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Red-Figured Vase-Painting at Caere* (Berkeley, 1974)—hereafter Del Chiaro, *ERVC*—p. 83f. and pl. 88. See also L. Donati in *Archeologia Classica* XXVIII (1976), pp. 87ff.

4. See Beazley, *EVP*, pl. XIII A,1, pl. XV,2, pl. XVI,1, pl. XVII,1-2,

pl. XIX, etc.; and Del Chiaro, *ERVC* fig. 21, pl. 1, pl. 2, pl. 8, pl. 10, pl. 11, etc.

5. See F. de Ruyt, *Charon, Démon Etrusque de la Mort* (Brussels, 1934) and R. Herbig, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker* (Mainz, 1965), pls. 34, 36, and 39. For a "new" representation of *Charon*, see *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* IV (1975), p. 144. Although *Charon* may appear winged or wingless, he is always identifiable by his attribute, the long-handled mallet or hammer. Note, for example, the two Underworld demons who appear within the same scene on the "Alcestis" volute-krater in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. no. 918; G. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* [Milan, 1935], pl. CCLXXV,3; Beazley, *EVP*, pl. XXX,1; R. Herbig, *op.cit.*, pl. 34; and *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* I [Rome, 1958], p. 199, fig. 294) of whom one is *Tuchulcha*, but the other with the mallet, *Charon*.



Figure 1. Calyx krater. Los Angeles, George Gore Collection.



Figure 2. Reverse of Figure 1.



Figure 3. Stamnos. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco.

female figure moving slowly and seductively to the right can be identified as *Turan*, the presence of Eros would be comprehensible. However, the general attitude of Eros approaching with outstretched arms and hands in a gesture of malicious and "sinful" intent—a pose commonly assumed by satyrs approaching maenads on Etruscan red-figured vases (e.g., Side B; Fig. 2)⁶—imparts an uncomfortably incestuous note to the scene! Equally perplexing is the inclusion of Charon whose presence is normally confined to funerary themes. In Etruscan art, however, it must be remembered that divinities and individuals drawn from Greek mythology are often represented in situations markedly at odds with their generally accepted roles. In such instance, the Gore calyx-krater offers another insight into Etruscan "iconographic eclecticism," "iconographic license," or plain misinterpretation of Greek mythology.⁷

On the evidence of the distinctive style of drawing, the Gore krater in the Getty Museum may be placed together with three vases (Nos. 2-4) assigned by Sir John Beazley to his "Group of Vatican G 113."⁸ A fourth specimen



Figure 4. Reverse of Figure 3.

presently in Dresden (No. 5)⁹—a hitherto unpublished and unattributed fragment from a vase of unusual form—is unquestionably by the same hand. For the sake of convenience, all five vases of the now augmented Group of Vatican G 113 are given in the following list:

1. Calyx-krater, inv. no. L.74.AE.48 (Figs. 1-2)
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum
George Gore Collection, Los Angeles
Height, 37 cm.; diam. of rim, 28.5 cm.
Side A: nude woman with loosely draped mantle standing between Charon and Eros.
Side B: young satyr pursuing maenad.
Bibl.: M. Del Chiaro, *op. cit.*, no. 106, with colored plate of Side A.
2. Stamnos, inv. no. G 113 (Figs. 3-4)
Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco
Height, 30 cm.
Provenience, Vulci.
Side A: Grypomachy (Griffinomachy).
Side B: Winged woman seated to the left.
Bibl.: J. Beazley and F. Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* (Vatican, 1939), p. 90f. and pl. 33; Beazley, *EVP*, p. 67.

6. See Del Chiaro, *ERV*, pl. 14 and Beazley, *EVP*, pl. XVII,4, pl. XVIII,3-4 and pl. XXX,2.

7. R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der Frühen Etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1964); G. Camporeale, "Banalizzazioni Etrusche di Miti Greci," *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome, 1965), pp. 111f. and in *Studi Etruschi* XXXVI (1968), pp. 21ff. and XXXVI (1969), pp. 59ff.; T. Dohrn, "Die Etrusker und die griechische Sage," *Mit-*

teilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Rom LXXIII-LXXIV (1966-67), pp. 15ff.; E. Simon, *Die Griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen* (Wiesbaden, 1968); I. Krauskopf, *Der Thebanische Sagenkreis und andere griechische Sagen in der Etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1974); J. Oleson, "Greek Myth and Etruscan Imagery in the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 79 (1975), pp. 189ff.; and M. Del Chiaro in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 3 (1970), pp. 346ff.



Figure 5. Oinochoe. RC 1644. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale.



Figure 6. Oinochoe. RC 1645. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale.

3. Oinochoe, Shape III, inv. no. RC 1644 (Fig. 5)
Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale
Height, 22 cm.
Provenience, Tarquinii.
Amazonomachy.
Bibl.: *Monumenti Antichi* 36 (1937), p. 483 and fig. 129 left; J. Beazley and F. Magi, *op. cit.*, p. 91 where erroneously given "RC 1646;" Beazley, *EVP*, p. 67, no. 3; and *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, fasc. 1, IV B, pl. 1, figs. 3 and 4.
4. Oinochoe, Shape III, inv. no. RC 1645 (Figs. 6-7)
Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale
Height, 22 cm.
Provenience, Tarquinii
Standing nude youth between seated nude youth and partially draped woman.
Bibl.: *Monumenti Antichi* 36 (1937), p. 483 and fig. 129 right; J. Beazley and F. Magi, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Beazley, *EVP*, p. 67, no. 2; and *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, fasc. 2, IV B, pl. 5.

The following fragment in Dresden was originally part of a vase of unusual form, and for which I cannot at this

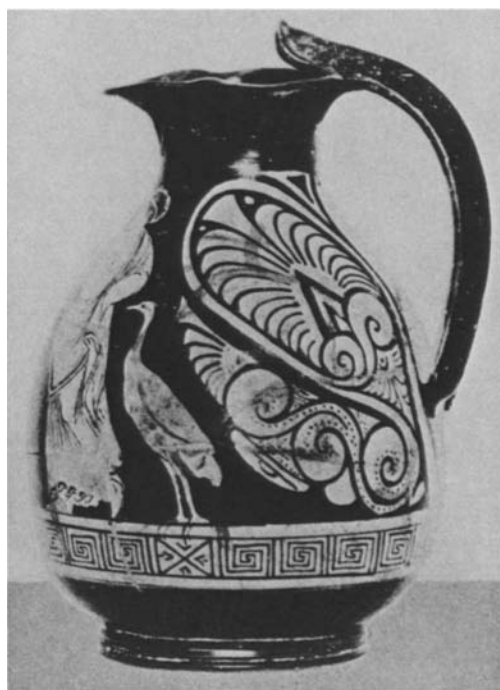


Figure 7. Side of Figure 6.

8. Beazley, *EVP*, p. 67f.
9. I am indebted to Dr. J.G. Szilágyi of the National Museum (Beaux Arts) in Budapest for calling this provocative sherd to my attention. I am also grateful to Dr. M. Raumschüssel of the Albertinum in Dresden for permission to publish the fragment in this paper.



Figure 8. Fragment of a stand or stand-like vase.
Dresden, Albertinum.

time cite an example. To judge by the finished, deceptively rim-like edge *below* the painted scene, however, the sherd may have belonged to a stand or stand-like vase. The subject of the exceptionally fine drawing—for which one would wish considerably more—is a struggle between a man and centaur (Fig. 8). Since any significant attributes are missing, the figure who holds the centaur in a headlock cannot be identified with certainty as *Hercle* (Greek *Herakles*) wrestling *Nessos*. Around the neck of the man combatting the centaur is a clasped mantle (*chlamys* or *himation*)—not a lion-skin—whereas the centaur shows a spotted animal-skin (fawn?) at the juncture of his human and equine portions. It is, perhaps, a *centauro-machy* with a Lapith wrestling a centaur to the ground. Comparison of the drawing for the three-quarter view head of the Lapith (?) with that of the youth on Side A of the Vatican stamnos, inv. no. G 113 (No. 2, Fig. 3) will readily confirm attributions of the Dresden fragment to the Group of Vatican G 113.

5. Fragment of a Stand or Stand-like Vase (Fig. 8)
Dresden, Albertinum, inv. no. Z.V. 1036

10. On the evidence of the floral decoration, as well as the marks on the rocks, Beazley was attracted to an oinochoe in London (British Museum, inv. no. F 100; Beazley, *EVP* pp. 54, 68 and 298) which includes a "symplegma" (satyr and maenad) that prompted him to consider a calyx-krater in Brussels (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. no. R 254; Beazley, *EVP*, pp. 68 and 154; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, fasc. 2, IV Be, pl. 1, fig. 11) with similar pose. Another vase—the "Alcestis" (Etruscan *Alcsti*) volute-krater in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. no. 918; see *supra*, note 5—was cited by

Preserved height, 14.6 cm.

Man (Lapith?) wrestling a Centaur.

In his investigation of the "Group of Vatican G 113," Beazley calls attention to three additional vases because of certain features shared in common with the Vatican stamnos (No. 2) and the two Tarquinian oinochoai (Nos. 3 and 4).¹⁰ However, I feel very strongly that these analogies do not justify their inclusion within the present listing.

Of the five vases here assigned to the Group of Vatican G 113, two (Nos. 1 and 5) are without known provenience, one (No. 2) is said to be from "Vulci," and two (Nos. 3 and 4) are from Tarquinii—the only reliable provenience in view of their recorded discovery within the necropolis of that important Etruscan site.¹¹ Although these two oinochoai have been considered Faliscan products dating to the early 4th Century B.C., on the basis of my continuing study of Etruscan red-figured vase-painting and the various fabrics that may be recognized as part of the production, I cannot regard any of the group as Faliscan or Caeretan creations. However, because of the Tarquinian provenience for the two oinochoai, there may be good reason, for the present, to believe that the Group of Vatican G 113 may have originated in a particularly gifted Tarquinian, if not Vulcian, workshop.

With the exception of the Dresden fragment (No. 5, Fig. 8), all of the vases disclose the use of relief-line, a technical feature which, I have observed, is abandoned in Etruscan red-figured vases during the second half of the 4th Century B.C.¹² This date accords with that proposed for the Tomba del Guerriero at Tarquinia where,¹³ it has been already pointed out, a detail of its wall painting shows a calyx-krater very similar in type to the Gore krater. Amongst the general run of Etruscan red-figured vases of the 4th Century B.C., I believe the Gore vase in the J. Paul Getty Museum offers an example of accomplished drawing dating to the third quarter of that century.

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Santa Barbara

Beazley in recognition of some similarity in the three-quarter frontal head of the youth at Side B (Beazley, *EVP*, pl. XXX, 2) with a counterpart on Side A of the Vatican stamnos (here Fig. 3).

11. M. Pallottino in *Monumenti Antichi* 36 (1937), p. 482f.

12. Del Chiaro, *ERV*, p. 137 and M. Del Chiaro, *The Etruscan Funnel Group: A Tarquinian Red-Figured Fabric* (Florence, 1974), p. 49f.

13. See M. Sprenger in *Studi Etruschi* 37 (1969), pp. 403-412.

A Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Paolo Visonà

An interesting assemblage of Ptolemaic bronze coins, mostly in fair to good condition, was anonymously donated to the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1976, and is now in the museum's collection. At present, there is no record of when these coins were found or purchased; the scarce information which is available does, however, indicate that they were unearthed somewhere in the Egyptian Delta during construction work. The 137 extant specimens are considered to be perhaps two-thirds of a small hoard¹.

By their appearance, there is no doubt that almost all of the coins in question come from a single find.² Most pieces display a beautiful brown-green patina, and traces of the same purple-red cuprite efflorescence are visible on the majority of the flans. The composition of the entire group is rather homogeneous, and only a few, very common types of the Ptolemaic kings Philadelphus, Euergetes, and Philopator are represented. The state of preservation of the material, including 28 worn and extremely worn specimens, also supports the assumption that the remaining pieces are representative of the original deposit. One will never know, unfortunately, how the hoard was broken up by the discoverer(s) and which

coins were singled out.

The numismatic data can be tabularized as follows³:

PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHUS (Alexandria, 271/0–247/6 B.C.)

○/ Head of Zeus Ammon r. wearing diadem with floral ornament; dotted border.

R/ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ☉ Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, head reverted, wings open; dotted border.

No.	44.9 mm.	92.4225 gr.	3	SNG Danish 141	No. spec: 3
1-3	44.7	92.3425	11 h	3	SNG Danish 141
	44	89.7635	11 h	3	SNG Danish 141

○/ As preceding.

R/ As preceding. Between the eagle's legs, E.

No.	45.7 mm.	98.9984 gr.	4	SNG Danish 142	No. spec: 8
4-11	47.8	95.5443	2	SNG Danish 142	
	47.3	92.0600	5	SNG Danish 142	
	46.5	91.9369	4	SNG Danish 142	
	48.6	91.7931	4	SNG Danish 142	
	47.3	89.7221	4	SNG Danish 142	
	46.2	86.0568	5	SNG Danish 142	
	48.2	81.4147	3	SNG Danish 142	

PTOLEMY III EUERGETES (Alexandria, 246–221 B.C.)

○/ Head of Zeus Ammon r. wearing diadem with floral ornament; dotted border.

1. I am indebted to Dr. Jfrí Frel, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, for generously allowing me to study the hoard and to use the museum's facilities, and for all the circumstantial information on the hoard's acquisition that he kindly provided.

2. Only one specimen, a light issue of Ptolemy VI–VIII, is obviously intrusive (for typological reasons, and because of its peculiar patination) and need not be taken into consideration. Third century types have never been found associated with later ones in hoards: cf. J.G. Milne, "The Copper Coinage of the Ptolemies," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* I (1908) 31–32; Id., "The Currency of Egypt under the Ptolemies," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (hereafter JEA) XXIV, 2 (December 1938) 204–205.

3. Modules and weights of the coins are given in millimetres and

grams respectively; the orientation of obverse and reverse dies is 12h (↑↑) unless otherwise stated. The relative wear of each specimen is rated on a scale of 1–6, mint condition to extremely worn. The following abbreviations are used: SNG Danish = A. Kromann, O. Mørholm, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum. Egypt: the Ptolemies*, Copenhagen, 1977; SNG Forbat = U. Westermark, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Sweden 1, The Collection of His Late Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolf · The Fred Forbat Collection*, Stockholm 1974; Svoronos = J.N. Svoronos, *Tὰ Νομίσματα Τοῦ Κράτους Τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, Athens, 1904; Id., *Die Münzen der Ptolemäer*, IV. Band, Deutsche Übersetzung des I. Bandes, Beiträge von F. Hultsch, K. Regling et al., Athens, 1908.

R/ ΠΤ°ΑΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ☉ Eagle standing l. on thunder bolt, wings closed; between legs, ☿; to l., cornucopiae bound with fillet. Dotted border.

No.	42.9 mm.	76.4542 gr.	11.5 h	1	SNG Danish 172	No. spec: 17
12-28	42.3	74.5717		1	SNG Danish 171	
	42.5	72.7247		2	SNG Danish 171	
	44.2	72.4588		2	SNG Danish 171	
	41.9	72.1133	11 h	2	SNG Danish 171	
	42.9	71.8378		1	SNG Danish 171	
	42.6	71.6234		2	SNG Danish 171	
	42.8	71.3007		2	SNG Danish 171	
	43.2	70.9357		2	SNG Danish 171	
	42.1	70.3696		4	SNG Danish 171	
	43.6	70.1642		2	SNG Danish 171	
	43.6	69.8991	11.5 h	2	SNG Danish 171	
	43	69.8672		3	SNG Danish 172	
	41.1	69.1319		4	SNG Danish 171	
	42.3	67.4177		4	SNG Danish 171	
	41.6	67.0384		3	SNG Danish 171	
	41.4	63.3205		3	SNG Danish 171	
No.	35.8	35.5291		1	SNG Danish 175	No. spec: 5
29-33	35	34.0423		3	SNG Danish 173	
					SNG Forbat 529	
	34.6	33.2697		3	SNG Danish 174	
	34.8	31.5535		2	SNG Danish 174	
	34.6	29.0935		5	SNG Danish 174	

No. 34 30.8 20.8136 11.5 h 5 SNG Danish 177 No. spec: 1

O/ As preceding.

R/ ΠΤ°ΑΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ☉ Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, wings closed; to l., cornucopiae bound with fillet. Dotted border.

No. 35 42.1 mm. 69.6314 gr. 2 Svoronos 1002 No. spec: 1

PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR
(Alexandria, 221-205 B.C.)

O/ Head of Zeus Ammon r. wearing diadem with floral ornament; dotted border.

R/ ΠΤ°ΑΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ☉ Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, wings closed. Between legs, ΔΙ; to l., filleted cornucopiae. Dotted border.

No.	41.2 mm.	73.1512 gr.	11 h	2	SNG Danish 199	No. spec: 15
36-50	40	72.8903		3	SNG Danish 199	
	42	72.8600	11 h	1	SNG Danish 199	
	42.7	72.0294		2	SNG Danish 199	
	44.7	71.8058		3	SNG Danish 199	
	42.7	71.2251		1	SNG Danish 199	
	42.6	70.8417		3	SNG Danish 199	
	43	67.9000		3	SNG Danish 199	
	43.2	66.3865		3	SNG Danish 199	
	41.6	65.9918	11 h	5	SNG Danish 199	
	41.9	65.1709		3	SNG Danish 199	
	42.6	65.0615	11.5 h	2	SNG Danish 199	
	41.5	64.7144		3	SNG Danish 199	
	40.9	64.1086		5	SNG Danish 199	
	41.5	62.8790		3	SNG Danish 199	
No.	35.5	34.6548	11 h	3	SNG Danish 202	No. spec: 3
51-53	34.5	34.0558		2	SNG Danish 202	
	33.5	33.0408		4	SNG Danish 202	

O/ As preceding.

R/ ΠΤ°ΑΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ☉ Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, wings closed. Between legs, ΔΙ; to l., club. Dotted border.

No. 54 36.2 mm. 33.2406 gr. 6 Svoronos 1130 No. spec: 1

O/ As preceding.

R/ ΠΤ°ΑΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ☉ Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, wings closed. Between legs, ΔΙ; to l., filleted cornucopiae. Dotted border.

No.	40.6 mm.	74.9223 gr.		2	Svoronos 1126	No. spec: 9
55-63	40.9	72.0296	11 h	1	Svoronos 1126	
	41	71.3759		1	Svoronos 1126	
	41.4	70.6565		3	Svoronos 1126	
	40.3	68.1312		4	Svoronos 1126	
	41.1	67.7635		4	Svoronos 1126	
	40.8	66.3629		3	Svoronos 1126	
	41.1	65.4443		2	Svoronos 1126	
	41	61.6673	11 h	1	Svoronos 1126	
No.	33.1	36.5138	11 h	3	Svoronos 1128	No. spec: 3
64-66	35.3	31.7667		3	Svoronos 1128	
	33.5	28.3999		5	Svoronos 1128	

O/ As preceding.

R/ ΠΤ°ΑΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ☉ Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, wings closed. Between legs, ΣΕ; to l., filleted cornucopiae. Dotted border.

No.	42.7 mm.	79.7572 gr.	11 h	2	Svoronos 992	No. spec: 10
67-76	42.6	73.4128		3	Svoronos 992	
	41	71.1711		3	Svoronos 992	
	41.8	70.2075	11 h	5	Svoronos 992	
	40.2	69.8685		6	Svoronos 992	
	41.9	67.5140	11 h	3	Svoronos 992	
	41.5	66.6886		3	Svoronos 992	
	41.6	66.0159		3	Svoronos 992	
	43	64.9004		4	Svoronos 992	
	42.1	60.4635		4	Svoronos 992	
No.	35.1	35.7712		2	Svoronos 993	no. spec: 5
77-81	33.2	31.5681		1	Svoronos 993	
	35.3	31.3398		5	Svoronos 993	
	33.2	30.1352	11 h	5	Svoronos 993	
	33.8	28.8592		4	Svoronos 993	

O/ As preceding.

R/ As preceding. Between the eagle's legs, ΣΕ.

No.	41.2 mm.	77.6388 gr.		3	SNG Danish 205	No. spec: 6
82-87	42.5	74.3296		3	SNG Danish 205	
	42	69.9874		2	SNG Danish 205	
	41	66.7117		4	SNG Danish 205	
	41.7	63.3032		2	SNG Danish 205	
	42.2	58.9746		5	SNG Danish 205	
No. 88	33.7	36.1357		3	Svoronos 993 var	No. spec: 1

O/ As preceding.

R/ As preceding. Between the eagle's legs, Σ.

No.	42.8 mm.	77.9597 gr.	11 h	2	Svoronos 992 var	No. spec: 12
89-100	42.8	75.7938		3	Svoronos 992 var	
	40.9	74.7816		3	Svoronos 992 var	

43	73.3193	2	Svoronos 992 var
43	72.1521	3	Svoronos 992 var
43	71.2766	2	Svoronos 992 var
42	68.9793	3	Svoronos 992 var
42.9	67.7736	4	Svoronos 992 var
42.9	65.3225	5	Svoronos 992 var
40.2	65.1254	6	Svoronos 992 var
42	58.1827	2	Svoronos 992 var
41.7	57.5745	5	Svoronos 992 var
No. 101	34.8	37.6577	5 SNG Danish 212 No. spec: 1 (control mark read as Σ)

O/ As preceding.

R/ ΠΤ°ΛΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (☉) Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, head reverted, wings open; between legs, ΣΕ. Dotted border.

No. 102	38.9 mm.	47.5565 gr.	3	SNG Danish 207	No. spec: 2
103	37.5	39.3472	2	SNG Danish 207	

O/ As preceding.

R/ ΠΤ°ΛΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (☉) Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, head reverted, wings closed, cornucopiae bound with fillet on l. shoulder. Dotted border.

No. 104	38.5 mm.	47.7430 gr.	11 h	2	not listed by Svoronos	No. spec: 2
105	38.8	44.6954	11 h	5	not listed by Svoronos	

O/ As preceding.

R/ As preceding. Between the eagle's legs, E.

No.	39.5 mm.	49.8608 gr.	11.5 h	3	SNG Danish 226	No. spec: 16
106-121	38.1	48.7566		6	SNG Danish 226	
40	47.4193			3	SNG Danish 226	
39.9	45.7577			4	SNG Danish 226	
39	45.3775	11.5 h	3	SNG Danish 224		
38.4	45.0592			6	SNG Danish 226	
39	44.4073			2	SNG Danish 224	
38.1	44.3898			5	SNG Danish 226	
38.7	43.8820			3	SNG Danish 224	
39	43.7582			5	SNG Danish 224	
37.8	42.8598			3	SNG Danish 226	
38	41.3219			6	SNG Danish 224	
37.9	41.0416	11.5 h	5	SNG Danish 224		
39	40.9854			4	SNG Danish 224	
37.8	40.5566			4	SNG Danish 226	
38.4	39.5733			2	SNG Danish 226	

O/ As preceding.

As shown by the histogram (Fig. a) of the weights, arranged by denomination, mostly the largest bronze units were selected for hoarding. Fractional denominations are comparatively rare and comprise less than 18% of the whole aggregate (see Fig. a, columns 3-4, 6-7, 9-10).

R/ As preceding, but double cornucopiae bound with fillet on l. shoulder of eagle. Between legs, E.

No. 122	39.2 mm.	50.7411 gr.	4	var. of the prec.	No. spec: 2
123	38.2	39.5757	5	var. of the prec.	

O/ As preceding.

R/ As preceding. Between the eagle's legs, E.

No.	40.7 mm.	52.0526 gr.	3	SNG Danish 229	No. spec: 6
124-129	39.4	49.9819	4	SNG Danish 228	
	37.5	49.6041	2	SNG Danish 229	
	39.6	46.5665	11 h	2	SNG Danish 228
	37.9	43.4850		4	SNG Danish 229
	38	40.7878	11 h	4	SNG Danish 228

O/ As preceding.

R/ As preceding. Between the eagle's legs, Λ.

No.	41 mm.	48.1116 gr.	2	SNG Danish 221	No. spec: 3
130-132	39	45.6357	3	SNG Danish 221	
	40.2	41.4683	4	SNG Danish 221	

O/ As preceding.

R/ ΠΤ°ΛΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ] (☉) Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, wings open. Between legs, Λ; cornucopiae on l. shoulder. Dotted border.

No. 133	37 mm.	28.2152 gr.	5	SNG Danish 222	No. spec: 1 (control mark read as Α)
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O/ Laureate head of Zeus r.; dotted border.

R/ ΠΤ°ΛΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (☉) Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, wings open. Between legs, E; to l., filleted cornucopiae. Dotted border.

No. 134	28.9 mm.	13.7726 gr.	11.5 h	3	Svoronos 975	No. spec: 1 (but Pl. XXIX, 13 has monogram Ε)
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UNCERTAIN PTOLEMY IV:

O/ Head of Zeus Ammon r. wearing diadem with floral ornament; dotted border.

R/ ΠΤ°ΛΕΜΑΙ°Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (☉) Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt, head reverted, wings closed, cornucopiae bound with fillet on l. shoulder. Between legs, control mark (?); dotted border.

No. 135	40.7 mm.	49.1998 gr.	11 h	6	SNG Danish 224/228 ?	No. spec: 2
136	39.8	41.4656		5	SNG Danish 224/228 ?	

Of 136 pieces, 11 belong Ptolemy II, 24 to Ptolemy III, and 101 to Ptolemy IV. The heaviest specimens (Cat. 1-11) have been ascribed to Ptolemy II, although their chronology is still uncertain, and the traditional dates 271/0-247/6 B.C.⁴ must await the test of further evidence. In

4. J.N. Svoronos, *Τὰ Νομίσματα*, op. cit., cols. 148-162; Id., *Die Münzen*, op. cit., col. 465 (K. Regling); E.T. Newell, "Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins," in *Five Greek Bronze Coin Hoards*, V, NNM No. 68,

New York 1935, pp. 54 ff.; C. Préaux, *L'Économie Royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, p. 275; G.K. Jenkins, "The Monetary Systems in the Early Hellenistic Time with Special Regard to the Economic Policy of

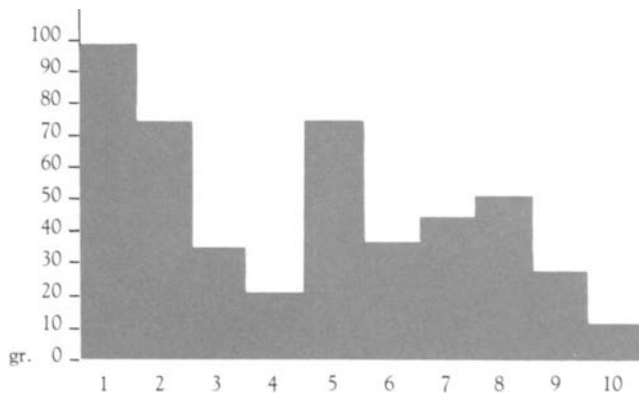


Figure a Metrological table of the Ptolemaic hoard in the J. Paul Getty Museum.

(Col. 1 = Cat. 1-11; Col. 2 = Cat. 12-28, 35;
Col. 3 = Cat. 29-33; Col. 4 = Cat. 34;
Col. 5 = Cat. 36-50, 55-63, 67-76, 82-87, 89-100;
Col. 6 = Cat. 51-53, 54, 64-66, 77-81, 88, 101;
Col. 7 = Cat. 102-103; Col. 8 = Cat. 104-132, 135-136;
Col. 9 = Cat. 133; Col. 10 = Cat. 134.)

fact, those bearing the control mark E (Cat. 4-11) do seem to reflect a great deal of technical and stylistical change (cf. Figs. 1 and 5), and their attribution to Philadelphus has been questioned.⁵

More numerous are the coins minted in the reign of Euergetes (Cat. 12-35). These are easily recognized by the quality⁶ of the flan, the remarkable elegance of the types (Figs. 13, 29) and the presence of the characteristic

monogram Σ on the reverse, which associates the entire series with gold and silver pentadrachms of Attic weight bearing the portrait and the legend of Berenice II, the wife of Ptolemy III.⁷ They were probably struck at the time of her regency in Egypt during the first phase of the Laodicean War (246-245 B.C.).⁸

A single specimen without control mark, never found in hoards thus far, can now definitely be assigned to Ptolemy III due to its close relationship to the Σ issues in fabric, weight and style (Cat. 35).⁹

Predominant in this portion of the hoard are, significantly, the most typical issues of Ptolemy IV (Cat. 36-136). The pieces with control marks Δ I, Λ I, Σ E, Σ E, and Σ still share typological affinities with the series of the previous ruler. However, a drastic change in quality can be readily noticed. Some specimens are doublestruck (Cat. 85, 98, 102), lettering is coarse and often careless, and a tendency towards stylization and reduction of details (especially of the reverse type) is apparent (cf. Figs. 38, 41, 62, 74, 78, 86, 89, 102).

Possibly contemporaneous with the heavy units are the lighter pieces which have recently been assigned to Philopator (Cat. 104-132, 135-136).¹⁰ The reverse type clearly derives from that found on the Phoenician tetradrachms with the jugate busts of Serapis and Isis on the obverse, and the control mark Δ I on the reverse, which were struck in the early years of Philopator's reign.¹¹ As a rule, the bronze series is artistically inferior; yet among the coins now in the J. Paul Getty Museum is a new variety *without* control mark, known from two

the Ptolemaic Kings," *International Numismatic Convention, Jerusalem 1963: The Patterns of Monetary Development in Palestine and Phoenicia in Antiquity, Proceedings* (Tel Aviv-Jerusalem 1967) p. 66. Cf. also A.E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, München 1962, pp. 91 ff.

5. E.T. Newell, "Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins," *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; G.K. Jenkins, "The Monetary Systems," *op. cit.*, p. 66.

6. Ptolemaic bronze coins have characteristically chamfered, rather than round edge profiles. Only those struck under Euergetes represent an exception to this rule. For the technique, see T. Hackens, "Terminologie et techniques de fabrication," in "Numismatique Antique—Problèmes et Méthodes. Actes du colloque organisé à Nancy du 27 septembre au 2 octobre 1971 par l'Université de Nancy II et l'Université Catholique de Louvain, édité par J.-M. Dentzer, Ph. Gauthier et T. Hackens," *Annales de l'Est, Mémoire N° 44, Études d'Archéologie Classique IV*, Nancy-Louvain 1975, pp. 4-6; E. Radcliffe Caley, "The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins," *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* XI (1939) 95-100; J. Condamine, M. Picon, "Changes Suffered by Coins in the Course of Time and the Influence of these on the Results of Different Methods of Analysis," *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, ed. E.T. Hall and D.M. Metcalf, R.N.S., Special Publication No. 8 (London, 1972) 53-55.

7. C.f. J.N. Svoronos, *Tà Νομίσματα*, *op. cit.*, cols. 231-238; Id., *Die Münzen*, *op. cit.*, cols. 477-478 (K. Regling); E.T. Newell, "Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins," *op. cit.*, p. 60.

8. B.V. Head, *HN²*, p. 852; see also É. Will, *Histoire Politique du Monde Hellénistique (323-30 av. J.-C.)* I, Nancy 1966, pp. 221-233; H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Archäologische Forschungen, 2) Berlin 1975, pp. 94-95.

9. J.N. Svoronos, *Tà Νομίσματα*, *op. cit.*, Nos. 997-1000, 1002-1004, Id., *Die Münzen*, *op. cit.*, col. 478 (K. Regling); H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Cf. A. Kromann, O. Mørholm, *SNG Danish, Egypt: the Ptolemies*, *op. cit.*, 189-190.

10. A. Kromann, O. Mørholm, *SNG Danish, Egypt: the Ptolemies*, *op. cit.*, 224-229.

11. Cf. E.T. Newell, "The Delta Hoard," in "Two Recent Egyptian Hoards," I, *NNM* No. 33, New York 1927, pp. 6-13; H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, *op. cit.*, p. 30; SNG, *The Lockett Collection, Part V, Lesbos-Cyrenaica: Addenda* (London, 1957) 3421.

12. See J.N. Svoronos, *Tà Νομίσματα*, *op. cit.*, No. 1123, Pl. XXXVI, 13. The eagle on the reverse of this tetradrachm bears a single filleted cornucopiae upon its left shoulder. On other specimens, however, the symbol is a double cornucopiae: cf. SNG, *The Lockett Collection, Part V*,

specimens (Cat. 104–105), which appears to be stylistically close to the prototype¹² and provides a useful link to the issues in silver (Fig. 104). The thirty-odd pieces bearing the control marks **E**, **Ε**, and **Λ** belong to different issues of the same denomination (Figs. 121, 128, 130).¹³

Finally, the presence within the hoard of two isolated fractions of this unit (Cat. 133–134; Fig. 134)¹⁴ is explained by the general characteristics as well as the chronological setting of this kind of deposit. By size and composition, our hoard falls into a unified pattern which strictly resembles that of six similar hoards, all buried in Egypt towards the end of the third century B.C.¹⁵ The original assemblage was probably put together over a period of time, since the heavy pieces of Ptolemy II are in fair to good condition, and the fine issues of Berenice II/Ptolemy III are also very well preserved, whereas some of the coins of Ptolemy IV attest to a somewhat wider span of circulation.

The hoarder may have started his savings deposit soon in bronze, which took effect under Euergetes.¹⁶ During the reign of Philopator, as the inflationary trend

that had begun to plague the Egyptian economy was growing worse,¹⁷ more and more coins were put away, including perhaps some small change. That die-links are only found among the heavy units of Ptolemy IV, shows how quickly freshly-minted coins disappeared from circulation (Cat. 55, 61, 63; 73–74).

The number of specimens with different control marks would also suggest that frequent additions were made to the hoard well into Philopator's reign, since those with the control mark **ΔΙ** were the earliest to circulate.¹⁸ This means that the hoard must have been buried between IGCH 1691 (which included several **ΔΙ** issues in good to fine condition but comparatively fewer specimens with the control marks **ΞΕ**, **ΣΕ**, and **Σ**—also beautifully preserved) and IGCH 1696–1697 (where the proportions are inverted).

Both the distribution of issues and the gradation of wear date the deposit to the last decade of the third century B.C. when hoarding became a widespread practice in Egypt, reflecting the insecurity of the political climate.¹⁹

University of California
Santa Barbara

op. cit., 3421; SNG Danish, *Egypt: the Ptolemies*, *op. cit.*, 197–198. The bronze series seems to follow in the same pattern: cf. CAT 106–123.

13. There is evidence of their association in Egyptian hoards: see M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, C.M. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (=IGCH), New York 1973, 1691, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700.

14. Although not found in hoards thus far, both pieces are linked to the larger-sized bronzes by control mark and style. Cat. 134 (bearing control mark **E**) is a variety listed by Svoronos; however, the coin shown on the corresponding plate bears the control mark **Ε**: cf. J.N. Svoronos, *Τὰ Νομίσματα*, *op. cit.*, No. 975, Pl. XXIX, 13; A. Kromann, O. Mørkholm, SNG Danish, *Egypt: the Ptolemies*, *op. cit.*, 230–231.

15. See footnote 13. Cf. also IGCH 1587, found at Idna, Judaea, which may have contained the same denominations.

16. É. Will, *Histoire Politique*, *op. cit.*, II, Nancy 1967, p. 28. In spite of their high quality, the bronze coins issued by Berenice II in the name of Ptolemy III are indicative of financial troubles from the very beginning of his reign. Cf. C. Préaux, *l'Économie Royale*, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–277.

17. For the so-called "copper inflation", as well as its political and social context, cf. B.V. Head, *HN²*, pp. 846 ff.; A. Segrè, "Circolazione tolemaica e pretolemaica in Egitto," *RIN*, XXXIII (1920) 38, 41, 43–50,

64–70; J.G. Milne, "Double Entries in Ptolemaic Tax-Receipts," *JEA*, XI, 3–4 (October 1925) 281; Id., "Ptolemaic Coinage in Egypt," *JEA*, XV, 3–4 (November 1929) 151–152; Id., "The Currency of Egypt," *op. cit.*, p. 205; M.-C. Soutzo, "Un nouvel exposé du système monétaire des Lagides," *Chronique d'Égypte*, IX (Janvier 1930) 263–269; E. Cavaignac, "L'argent et le cuivre sous les derniers Ptolémées" (review to W. Giesecke's *Das Ptolemäergeld*, Leipzig und Berlin 1930), *Chronique d'Égypte*, XIII–XIV (Janvier 1932) 288–290; A. Segrè, "The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation, ca. 230–140 B.C.," *The American Journal of Philology*, LXIII, 2, No. 250 (April 1942) 188 ff.; T. Reekmans, "Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri," *Studia Hellenistica*, V (1948) 15–43; Id., "Social and Economic Repercussions of the Ptolemaic Copper Inflation," *Chronique d'Égypte*, XXXI (Janvier 1949) 324–342; G.K. Jenkins, "The Monetary Systems," *op. cit.*, p. 67; W. Peremans, "Ptolémée IV et les Égyptiens," in *Le Monde Grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, édité par J. Bingen, G. Cambier, G. Nachtergaele, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Fac. de Philosophie et Lettres, LXII, Bruxelles 1975, pp. 398–399.

18. See footnote 11.

19. Cf. E.T. Newell, "Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins," *op. cit.*, pp. 66–67; É. Will, *Histoire Politique*, *op. cit.*, II (Nancy, 1967), pp. 25–28.

APPENDIX

PTOLEMAIC BRONZE CURRENCY IN EUROPE

Although there is no evidence that Ptolemaic bronze coins were regularly used as currency outside a well-defined monetary zone (Egypt, Cyrene, Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus),¹ finds of Ptolemaic bronze currency have been reported from southwestern Russia to England,² with consistent groupings in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece³ as well as Croatia (Yugoslavia).⁴ However, the Ptolemies were not exporters of currency,

but of produce and luxury items.⁵ Whenever found in quantity outside of the Ptolemaic empire, Ptolemaic bronze coins very likely represent just a stock of bullion, as shown by the Greek and Croatian hoards.⁶ Most Central European finds consist of isolated specimens,⁷ which were carried overland from Adriatic or Black Sea ports along with other Egyptian imports,⁸ and may have circulated until Roman times (Fig. b).⁹

1. Cf. G.K. Jenkins, "The Monetary Systems," *op. cit.*, pp. 59–68; R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*, Leiden 1976, pp. 176–212.

2. I.G. Šurgaja, "Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen des Nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes und Alexandrien in hellenistischer Zeit," *Klio*, 59, 2 (1977) 459–460, 472; R. Ocheșeanu, "Cîteva monede ptolemaice și alexandrine decoperite în Dobrogea," *Pontica*, 7 (1974) 199–202. For finds of Ptolemaic AE coins in England, see F. Haverfield, G. MacDonald, "Greek Coins at Exeter," *NC*, 1907, p. 149; G.F. Hill, "Alexandrian and Ptolemaic Coins Found in England," *NC*, 1930, p. 338; J.G. Milne, *Finds of Greek Coins in the British Isles: the Evidence Reconsidered in the Light of the Rickett Collection from Dorset*, London 1948, pp. 18, 21, 25–30, 37–39, and recently M. Biddle, "Ptolemaic coins from Winchester," *Antiquity*, XLIX, No. 195 (September 1975) 213–215.

3. IGCH 161, 183–184, 190, 264. See also T. Hackens, "A propos de la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au III^e s. av. J.-C.," in *Antidoron W. Peremans Sexagenario ab Alumnis Oblatum*, Louvain 1968, pp. 82–90; Id., "La circulation monétaire dans la Béotie Hellénistique: Trésors de Thèbes 1935 et 1965," *BCH*, XCIII (1969), pp. 708–709, 728; R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration*, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–206.

4. Cf. I. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards on the Territory of Modern Yugoslavia*, Thesis presented for the degree of doctor of philosophy, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1978, II, Nos. 24, 43, 57, 76, 88a, 93, 100. The Štikada hoard (No. 88a), found in 1976 and still unpublished, included 1 AE of Ptolemy VI–VIII (A. Kromann, O. Mørkholm, *SNG Danish, Egypt: the Ptolemies*, *op. cit.*, 307) and 1 AE of Ptolemy VIII (J.N. Svoronos, *Τὰ Νομισματά*, *op. cit.*, No. 1642). I am grateful to Prof. Mirnik for his warm hospitality and for his permission to use these data.

5. C. Préaux, *L'Économie Royale*, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–265, pp. 370–371; G.K. Jenkins, "The Monetary Systems," *op. cit.*, p. 60; M. Grant, *Cleopatra*, (London 1972) 33–38. A contrary view was expressed by J.G. Milne, "The Currency of Egypt," *op. cit.*, p. 204, and A. Segrè, "The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation," *op. cit.*, pp. 190–191.

6. See *supra*, footnote 3; cf. K. Kurz, "Zur neuen Datierung des Mazinfundes," *Situla*, 14/15 (1974) 155–161; I. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 23–24, 63–64, 69–71, 75–76, 115. See also footnote 3 *Supra*.

7. For finds of Ptolemaic bronze coins in Italy, cf. P. Barocelli, "Gignod.—Scoperta di un Tesoretto Monetale," *Not. Scavi*, 1914, p. 410; M.C. Crawford, *RRCH*, London 1969, 133; G. Gorini, "Aspetti della circolazione monetaria nel III–II sec. a.C. in alto Adriatico: i bronzi tolemaici," *W. Helbig*, "Scavi e Viaggi. Viaggio nell'Etruria. Viterbo," *Bull. Ist. Corr. Arch.*, dicembre 1881, p. 261; P. Mantovani, *Il Museo Archeologico e Numismatico di Livorno*, Livorno 1892, pp. 121–122; R. Ross Holloway, "Monetary circulation in central Sicily to the reign of Augustus as documented by the Morgantina Excavations," in *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica*, Roma, 11–16 sett. 1961, *Atti*, II (Roma, 1969), p. 149; E. Stefani, "Nazzano.—Nuove scoperte nel territorio capenate," *Not. Scavi*, 1911, p. 436; P. Visonà, "Una moneta di bronzo di Tolomeo IV da Adria," *AA.MM. Soc. Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, LXXVI (1976),

pp. 55–59. Id., *Ritrovamenti di Monete Romane nella Provincia di Vicenza: La Vallata dell'Agno*. For finds in central and Northwestern Europe cf. G. Gorini, "Aspetti," *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47; R. Ocheșeanu, "Cîteva monede ptolemaice," *op. cit.*, pp. 200 ff.; H. Bannert, G. Piccottini, "Die Fündmünzen vom Magdalensberg," *FMRÖ, Kärnten I., Kärntner Museumschriften*, 52, Archäologische Forschungen zu den Grabungen auf dem Magdalensberg, 2, Klagenfurt 1972, p. 19; W. Hahn, *FMRÖ*, III. "Nieder Österreich. 1. Carnuntum," *Österr. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Kl., Veröffentlichungen der Numism. Komm.* 6, Wien 1976, 9879, 9880, 9881; A. Kasseroler, "Die vorgeschichtliche Niederlassung auf dem 'Himmelreich' bei Wattens," *Schlern-Schriften* 166 (1957), Pl. 38, 1–2; B. Overbeck, "Geschichte des Alpenheintals in römischen Zeit auf Grund der archäologischen Zeugnisse," *Veröffentlichungen der Komm. zur archäol. Erforschung des spätromischen Raetien, der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaften. II, Die Fündmünzen der römischen Zeit im Alpenheintal und Umgebung*, München 1973, p. 214; *FMRD*, II, 2 (Südbaden), 2195, 1; 2245, 1–5; *FMRD*, II, 3 (Südwürttemberg-Hohenzollern), 3317, 1; *FMRD*, II, 4 (Nordwürttemberg), 4127, 2–4; 4229, 1; *FMRD*, IV, 2, (Pfalz), 2036 n.; 2076, 1–10; 2093 n. 1; *FMRD*, VI (Nordrhein-Westfalen 4. Münster), 4025; *FMRD*, VI, 6 (Detmold), 6143; *FMRL* (I), p. 524 (Tetelberg); *FMRL* (II), p. 213 (Tetelberg); *SNG Danish, Egypt: the Ptolemies*, *op. cit.*, 204, 225, 305.

8. For Egyptian imports in the upper Adriatic and Black Sea regions, cf. F. Barnabei, "Di un rarissimo fittile del III secolo av. Cr.," *Rendiconti R. Acc. dei Lincei, classe di sc. morali, storiche e filol.*, serie V, vol. I. (1892), pp. 287–288; G. Fogolari, "Adria.—Tomba del III secolo av. Cr.," *Not. Scavi*, 1958, p. 31 Fig. 5, p. 33; G. Fogolari, B.M. Scarfi, *Adria Antica*, Venezia 1970, p. 43, 77; I.G. Šurgaja, "Aus der Geschichte," *op. cit.*, pp. 451 ff. Ptolemaic silver coins have also been found in Yugoslavia and in Germany: cf. P. Lisičar, "Grčki i Helenistički novci s otoka Korčule," *Filozofski Fakultet Zadar, Radovi Razdio Hist., Arheol. i Hist. Umjetnosti* (I), 1960–1961, pp. 76–77; I. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards*, *op. cit.*, II, No. 91. *FMRD*, II, 3 (Südwürttemberg-Hohenzollern), 3231, 1. I am particularly indebted to Prof. I. Marović, Director of the Arheološki Muzej at Split, for kindly allowing me to examine 21 Ptolemaic coins, including 5 tetradrachms, found in Dalmatia (Yugoslavia). Ptolemaic bronze coins were also in the numismatic collection of the Museo di S. Donato in Zara (now Zadar). I owe special thanks to Dr. A. Chieco Bianchi, of the Soprintendenza Archeologica del Veneto in Padua, for giving me permission to see these coins, now in Venice's Museo Archeologico.

9. Ptolemaic bronze coins have frequently been found together with Roman currency: see G.F. Hill, "Alexandrian and Ptolemaic Coins," *op. cit.*, p. 338; N. Lamboglia, "La campagna 1963 sul relitto di punta Scaletta all'isola di Giannutri (Relazione preliminare)," *Rivista di Studi Liguri*, 30 (1964) 248–249; M.C. Crawford, *RCCH*, *op. cit.*, 133; M. von Kaenel, "Die Fündmünzen aus Avenches I. Teil. Von den Anfängen bis Titus," *SNR*, 51 (1972) 99, n. 66. I. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 160–161, discusses the evidence of the Croatian hoards.

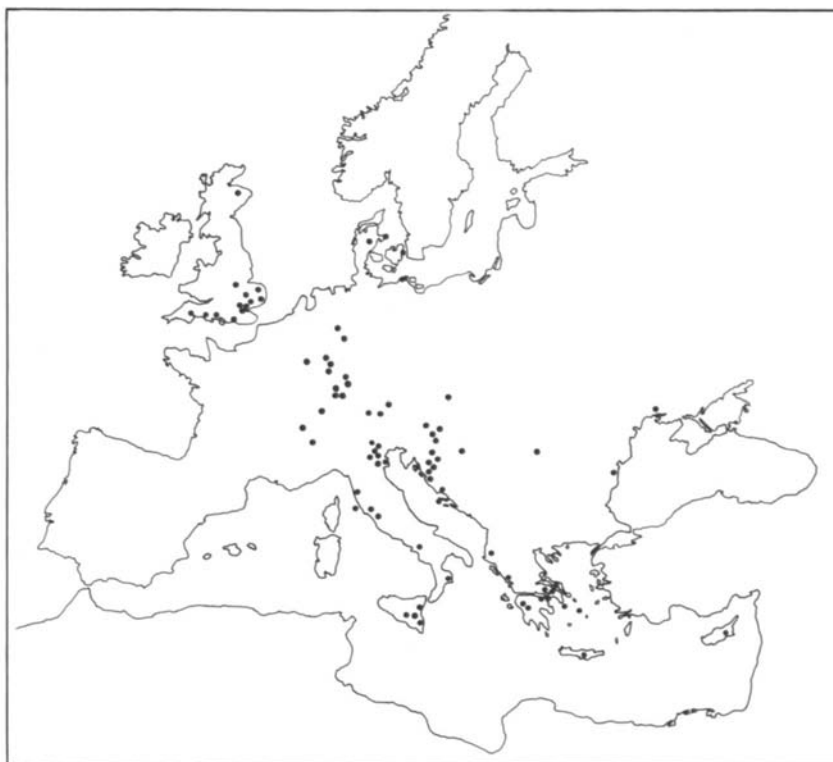


Figure b. Finds of Ptolemaic bronze coins in Europe.



1

2

5



13

20

29



38

41

62



74

78

86



89

102

104



121

128

130



134

Coins from Two Republican Hoards

Jane M. Cody

The Getty Museum has acquired twenty-one denarii from two recently discovered Republican hoards and has another twenty-two on loan from the collection of John Tunney. The Classics Department, University of Southern California, also in Los Angeles, has acquired another seventeen denarii from the same hoards.

All of these coins are part of a very large group (originally about 18,000)¹ that first appeared in two lots in trade several months apart in 1975.² In Table III I have listed the coins from the hoards that are now part of the Getty, Tunney, and University of Southern California collections, as well as those I originally noted in trade in 1975.

Similar patination and cleaning and the fact that both groups appeared on the market at nearly the same time may seem to indicate that the two lots were originally part of only one hoard. However, I doubt that this is so because: 1) The lot that appeared earlier (the coins marked I in Table III) contained only issues of the 120s B.C. and earlier. 2) There is some slight difference in the patination, especially in the yellow stain on the coins of lot I and the dark stain on the coins of lot II. 3) It is difficult to believe that coins of the 130s and 120s would show virtually no wear in a hoard whose closing date is

c. 30–29 B.C. (the date of the latest coin I have seen is 32–31 B.C. [RRC 544])³ while denarii of the 40s are notably worn. 4) There is a natural gap in the sequence of the coins I have seen: coins of the late 120s and of the years between 119–113 are very rare in these lots, and such common issues of these years as RRC 286 and 289 are absent.⁴

Both groups as they first appeared contained only relatively common issues—none of the real rarities that one would expect in such a large hoard are present—and also issues in only very good condition.⁵ This seems to indicate that both lots had been “picked”: the rarities have been removed, as have those coins in less good condition. The hoards thus lose much of their value for the relative dating of issues; but, as more issues continue to appear on the market, it is certainly worthwhile to record our initial observations here and to hope for future additions and modifications as they become possible.

In Table III I have listed 61 coins from the earlier hoard: one victoriatus and sixty denarii, mostly of the 150s–130s. There is one additional coin in the addendum. All of the coins listed show very little or no wear. The latest coin in Lot I is that of C. FAN C.F (RRC

1. I have based this estimate on reports in conversation with several people. Coins from this group, other than those listed in Table III, appear in *Monete e Medaglie*, Asta N. 15 (Kunst u. Munzen 1975) lots 259ff and Jacques Schulman's Catalogue 262 (1975). However, the photographs are not of sufficiently high quality that I can be sure of the association of some issues with the hoards. Coins listed in Table III also appear (as noted) in Numismatic Fine Arts Auction IV (1977) lots 462ff. Also, see *Coin Hoards* 1 (1975) no. 156 with fig. 14 (now to be published by M. Crawford), which appears to be another lot of our earlier hoard.

2. Since then more coins have come to my attention that may or may not have originally appeared in 1975. Many of the coins are still on the market. See, for instance, the addendum below on nineteen

coins I recorded in trade in 1/78 and 10/78, many of which were not represented in the original lots.

3. Michael Crawford, *Roman Republic Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974), cited throughout as RRC.

4. Freshly minted coins from the 130's and early 120's did appear as part of the second lot as I have recorded in Table III. It is my view, however, that they were originally part of Lot I and were later mixed in with Lot II.

5. It is interesting that the coins listed in the addendum, presumably a much later lot, are not of this quality.

275/1, dated to 123 B.C.) and this, as far as can be told, is the latest coin in this hoard.⁶ The second hoard begins with the very common issue of Fourius Philus (RRC 281/1, dated to 119 B.C.)⁷ and closes, with large gaps after 42 B.C., with a legionary denarius of M. Antonius minted in 32–31 B.C. In Table III I have listed two hundred and eighty-six denarii from this hoard and eighteen more coins appear in the addendum.

Reports about the finds and the patination point to a provenance for both in northern Italy (reportedly Milan, in ancient Gallia Cisalpina). In closing date and prove-

nance the earlier hoard is most comparable to the Gerenzago hoard (RRCH 167),⁸ the latest issue of which is RRC 282 (M. Aureli Scauri) of c. 118 B.C. and the Maserà hoard (RRCH 162), the last issue of which dates to 125 (RRC 270). It is interesting to compare the contents of Gerenzago (6 victoriati, 2 quinarii and 60 denarii) and Maserà (180 victoriati, 1023 denarii) with that of the earlier Milan hoard and with other cisalpine hoards of the latter half of the second century and very early years of the first century B.C.:

TABLE I

PERIOD	HOARD	RRCH ¹	DATE OF LAST COIN	# OF VICTORIATI	# OF QUINARII	# OF DENARII
150–125	Legnano	150	C. 138	0	0	+
	Belfiore	157	C. 127	0	0	7
	Maserà	162	C. 125	180	0	1023
124–92	Milan	---	C. 123	1	0	55
	Gerenzago	167	C. 188	6	2	60
	Olmeneta	203	C. 100	0	0	405
	Imola	210	C. 100	12	0	532
	Claterna	217	C. 92	0	0	53

Although Crawford connects the victoriatu and quinarius with cisalpina,⁹ as well as transalpine Gaul, these denominations appear in only four of the above eight hoards, and in this period constitute 9% of the recorded coins in hoards from Cisalpina. Thus, Milan I, with 2% victoriati, is not at all atypical.

The Milan hoard is one of four that have been found in the far north of Italy and date to the years c. 127–117 B.C. Together they make up a significant concentration of finds in this period (see Table I). The Maserà and Belfiore hoards were laid down further to the East; Gerenzago is from the same area as the Milan hoard and the two hoards date to within about five years of one

another. It is possible that both are to be connected with troop movements through this area to support Roman campaigns around Massilia and Narbo in these years or that they are associated with readjustment of the *ager publicus* in this area under the *leges agrariae* of the Gracchi. Without any further data on events at Mediolanum in these years, it is difficult to be certain.

There are two hundred and eighty-nine denarii from the second hoard recorded in Table III and an additional eighteen in the addendum. Again, the constitution of the hoard, with no victoriati or quinarii, has many parallels in hoards from the north:

6. See *Coin Hoards* (1975) no. 156 where the latest issue listed is RRC 267, of 126 B.C.

7. As with the other hoard earlier, and thus more worn, issues have probably been removed.

8. Michael Crawford, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* (London, 1969), cited throughout as RCH.

9. RRC 2, 629.

10. G.E.F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul* (Oxford, 1941) 8, 15–23, 34ff; 55–56.

11. Plut. *Comp. Dionis et Bruti* 5; Suet. *de rhet.* 6.

TABLE II

PERIOD	HOARD	RRCH #	DATE OF LAST COIN	# OF VICTORIATI	# OF QUINARII	# OF DENARII
44 - 27	Florence	399	43	0	0	148
	Vigatto	416	42	0	0	?
	Borzano	418	42	0	514	597
	Pieve Quinta	421	42	0	1	838
	Calvatone	434	41	0	1	7
	Meolo	437	39	0	6	918
	Mornico Losana	442	38	0	60	1126
	Garlasco	445	37	0	0	400
	Este	466	32-31	0	0	71
	Milan II	---	32-31	0	0	297
	Moggio	470	32-31	0	80	69
	Cerriola	478	29-27	0	3	35
	Maleo	480	29-27	0	13	65

The percentage of quinarii (15%) is much greater than in the earlier set of Cisalpine hoards, but the total lack of them in the Milan hoard is not unparalleled: the Florence, Vigatto, Garlasco and Este hoards also contained only denarii.

The burial of the hoard is probably associated with

Augustus' settlements in the north of Italy.¹⁰ Although we have no direct evidence for veteran colonies in Mediolanum, the fact that it was located at an important road junction and noted for its Republican sympathies¹¹ makes it a likely candidate for such settlement.

*University of Southern California
Summa Galleries*

TABLE III

INV. #	RRC #	DATE	MONEYER	# IN HOARD*	REFERENCE DISPOSITION**	REMARKS
1	53/1	After 211	Anonymous	1(I)	---	wt. 3.6 gm.; darker in color than other coins in hoard
2	57/2	207	Anonymous (Crescent)	1(I)	---	wt. 4.3 gm.
3	79/1	209-208	Anonymous (Wheel)	1(I)	---	
4	197/1a	159-156	Anonymous	1(I)	---	wt. 3.95 gm.
5	200/1	155	NAT	1(I)	---	
6	201/1	154	C. SCR	1(I)	---	
7	202/1	153	C. MAIANI	1(I)	---	
8-9	204/1	152	L. SAUF	2(I)	G. McL (Fig. 1); Tu (Fig. 2)	
10-11	205/1	151	P. SULA	2(I)	Tu (Fig. 3)	
12	206/1	150	SAFR	1(I)	USC (Fig. 4)	
13-14	208/1	149	NATTA	2(I)	NFA 463 Tu (Fig. 5)	
15	210/1	149	C. IUNI C.F.	---	Tu (Fig. 6)	not of original lots
16-17	214/1	148	M. ATILI SARAN	2(I)	---	1 of var. a; 1 of var. b
18	215/1	148	Q MARC LIBO	1(I)	NFA 464	
19	216/1	148	L. SEMPR PITIO	1(I)	---	
20-21	217/1	147	C. TER LUC	2(I)	NFA 465 Tu (Fig. 7)	
22-23	218/1	147	L. CUP	2(I)	G. McL (Fig. 8); Tu (Fig. 9)	
24	222/1	143	Anonymous (Crescent)	1(I)	---	
25	223/1	142	C. CUR TRIGE	---	Tu (Fig. 10)	

INV. #	RRC #	DATE	MONEYER	# IN HOARD*	REFERENCE DISPOSITION**	REMARKS
26	224/1	141	L. IULI	1(I)	Tu (Fig. 11)	
27	228/2	140	C. VAL C.F FLAC	1(I)	NFA 466	
28-29	230/1	139	A. SPURI	2(I)	NFA 467	
30	231/1	138	C. RENI	1(I)	---	
31	232/1	138	CN. GELI	1(I)	NFA 468	
32	233/1	138	P. PAETUS	1(I)	NFA 470	
33	234/1	137	TI. VETUR	1(I)	Tu (Fig. 12) NFA 472	
34-35	235/1	137	SEX. POM	2(I)	NFA 471	
36-39	236/1	137	M. BAEBI Q.F TAMPIL	4(I)	---	
40	237/1	136	CN. LUCR TRIO	1(I)	NFA 469	
41-42	238/1	136	L. ANTES GRAGU	2(I,II)	G. McL(Fig. 13) NFA 473	
43-45	239/1	136	C. SERVEILI M.F	3(I,I;II,2)	NFA 473	
46	243/1	134	TI. MINUCI C. F AUGURINI	1(I)	Tu (Fig. 14)	
47-48	245/1	134	C. MARCI C. F	2(I,II)		
49	247/1	133	P. CALP	1(I)		
50	248/1	133	L. MINUCIU	1(I)	NFA 474	
51-52	250/1	132	M. ABURI M.F GEM	2(I)	NFA 475; USC (Fig. 15)	
53	255/1	130	M. ACILIUS M.F	1(I)	NFA 477	
54	256/1	130	Q. METE	1(I)	NFA 476; Tu (Fig. 16)	
55	257/1	130	M. VARGU	---	Tu (Fig. 17)	not in original lot
56	261/1	128	CN. DOMIT	1(II)	Tu (Fig. 18)	
57-58	262/1	128	Anonymous (Elephant head)	2(I,II)	NFA 478; USC (Fig. 19)	
59	263/1	127	M. METELLUS Q.F	1(I)	---	
60	267/1	126	T.Q	1(I)	---	
61	275/1	123	C FAN C.F	1(I)	---	
62-63	281/1	119	M. FOURI L.F PHILI	2	---	
64-65	291/1	114-113	MN. AEMILIO LEP	2	---	
66	292/1	113-112	P. NERVA	1	---	
67	293/1	113-112	L. PHILIPPUS	1	USC (Fig. 20)	
68	295/1	113-112	L. TORQUA Q	1	---	
69	298/1	112-111	L. CAESI	1	---	
70	299/1	111-110	AP.CL, T.MAL, MANL Q.UR	1	---	
71-72	304/1	109-108	L. MEMMI	2	---	
73	307/1	108-107	MN. FONTEI	1	---	control mark P; var. b
74	308/1	108-107	M. HERENNI	---	USC (Fig. 21)	not in original lot; var. b.
75	311/1	106	L. SCIP ASIAG	1	---	var. a; control mark D
76-78	316/1	102	L. THORIUS BALBUS	3	---	control marks E, I, N.
79	322/1	102	C. FABI C.F	1	NFA 481	var. a; control mark i
80	328/1	100	P. SERVILI M.F RULLI	1	---	
81-82	329/1	100	LENT. MAR. F	2	---	1 w/L to l.; 1 w/obv. x to r. and rev. x to l. (var. a, b)
83-84	330/1	100	PISO, CAEPIO Q	2	---	1 w/control mark; trident (var. a).
85	334/1	97	L. POMPON MOLO	1	G. McL (Fig. 22)	1 w/control mark hare (var. b)
86	335/1	96	A. ALB, L. METEL, C. MALL	1	---	
87	336/1	92	C. ALLI BALA	1	---	w/grasshopper and obv. control mark b (var. b)
88-90	337/2	91	D. SILANUS L.F	3	---	1 var. a; 2 var. w/control mark B and D
91	337/3	91	D. SILANUS L.F	1	USC (Fig. 23)	control mark obv. L, rev. VIII
92-104	340/1	90	L. PISO L.F. L.N. FRUGI	13	NFA 484	
105-106	343/1	89	M. CATO	2	NFA 485; USC (Fig. 24)	var. 1b

INV. #	RRC #	DATE	MONEYER	# IN HOARD*	REFERENCE DISPOSITION**	REMARKS
107-110	344/1	89	L. TITURI L.F SABINUS			1 var. a; 2 var. b; 1 hybrid of obv. of 344/3 w/rev. of 344/1
111	348/4	87	L RUBRI DOSSENI	1	---	
112	350A/2	86	GAR., OGUL, VER	1	---	
113-117	353/1	85	MN. FONTEI C.F	5	NFA 486	4 of var. a; 1 var. c
118-121	354/1	84	C. LICINIUS L.F MACER	4	NFA 487	
122-123	357/1	83	C. NORBANUS	2	---	var. b w/control mark CXV III and CLXXI
124	360/1	82	P.CREPUSI, C.LIMETAN, L. CENSORIN	1	USC (Fig. 25)	
125	361/1	82	P. CREPUSI	1	---	var. c with obv. bird and 1 and rev. CLXXXX
126-127	362/1	82	C. MAMIL LIMETANUS C.F	2	NFA 490	control marks C. and M
128-129	363/1	82	L. CENSOR	2	---	var. d
130-133	364/1	83-82	Q. ANTO BALB PR	4	NFA 488; USC (Fig. 26)	all var. d w/control mark B,H,N,X
134	365/1	82	C. VAL FLA IM- PERATOR	1	---	var. b w/control mark E
135	366/1	82-81	C. ANNIUS T.F T.N PRO COS	1	---	var. a w/control mark sword in scabbard
136-137	367/1	82	L. SULLA IMPE, L. MANLI PROQ	2	G.McL (Fig. 27)	
138	372/1	81	A. POST A.F S.N. ALBIN	1	---	
139-141	372/2	81	A. POST A.F S.N. ALBIN	3	---	
142-143	374/1	81	Q.C.M.P.I.	2	---	
144	375/2	81	Q	1	---	
145	378/1	81	C. MARI C.F CAPITO	1	---	var. c w/control mark obv. ivy leaf and LII, rev. LII
146-147	379/1	80	L. PROCILI F	2	NFA 491	
148-149	379/2	80	L. PROCILI F	2	NFA 492; G.McL (Fig. 28)	
150-153	383/1	79	TI. CLAUD TI.F AP.N	4	USC (Fig. 29)	w/control marks CXXXXV, CXXXXVII, AXXVIII, ALXXXV
154	384/1	79	L. PAPI	1	---	w/control mark ring and bar (RRC Pl. LXVI-LXVII no. 82)
155	385/1	78	M VOLTEI M F	1	---	
156-157	387/1	77	L. RUTILI FLAC	2	G. McL (Fig. 30) Tu (Fig. 31)	
158	392/1	75	L. FARSULEI MENSOR	1		var. b
159-164	393/1	76-75	CN. LEN. Q	6	G. McL (Fig. 32-34); NFA 495	
165	394/1	74	C. POSTUMI AT	1	---	
166	395/1	74	L. COSSUTI C.F SABULA	1	---	control mark XXXX
167	401/1	71	MN. AQUIL MN.F MN.N	1	Tu (Fig. 35)	
168	403/1	70	KALENI, CORDI	---	Tu (Fig. 36)	not in original lots
169-170	405/3	69	M. PLAETORIUS CEST	2	---	var. b, w/bee
171	405/5	69	M. PLAETORIUS CEST	1	NFA 496	control mark A
172-173	406/1	69	P. GALB AED. CUR	2	---	
174-186	407/2	68	C. HOSIDI C.F GETA IIIVIR	13		
187	408/1	67	C. PISO L.F FRUGI	1	---	head l. w/band and control mark Σ ; no rev. control mark evident
188-191	409/1	67	M. PLAETORIUS M. F CESTIANUS AED. CUR	4	NFA 497 USC (Fig. 37)	

INV. #	RRC #	DATE	MONEYER	# IN HOARD*	REFERENCE DISPOSITION**	REMARKS
192	409/2	67	M. PLAETORIUS M. F CESTIANUS AED. CUR	1		control mark palm branch
193	410/5	66	Q. POMPONI MUSA	1	---	
194-197	412/1	64	L. ROSCI FABATI	4	---	control marks as RRC pl. LXVIII. 32,82,148,150
198-200	415/1	62	PAULLUS LEPIDUS	3	USC (Fig. 38)	1 w/legend CONCORDI
201-202	416/1	62	LIBO	2	---	1 w/anvil; 1 w/hammer
203	420/1	60	P. YPSAE	1	---	var. a
204	421/1	59	SUFENAS	1	---	
205-208	422/1	58	M. SCAUR, P. HYP- SAEUS AED. CUR	4	G. McL(Fig. 39-41)	1 of var. a; 3 of var. b
209-210	425/1	56	PHILIPPUS	2	USC (Fig. 42) NFA 510	
211-213	426/3	56	FAUSTUS	3	---	
214	426/4	56	FAUSTUS	1	---	var. a
215	427/2	56	C. MEMMI C.F	1	---	
216	428/3	55	Q. CASSIUS	1	---	
217	429/1	55	P. FONTEIUS P. F CAPITO	1	NFA 511	
218	433/2	54	BRUTUS	1	G-Su (Fig. 43)	
219	434/1	54	Q. POMPEI RUF	---	G-Su (Fig. 44)	not of original lot
220-221	434/2	54	Q. POMPEI RUF	2	---	
222-246	442/1	49	MN. ACILIUS IIIIVIR	25	USC (Fig. 45-46)	all var. a
247-280	443/1	49-48	CAESAR	34	USC (Fig. 47) NFA 530	
281	444/1	49	Q. SICINIUS IIIIVIR, C. COPONIUS PR	1	Tu (Fig. 48)	
282	445/1	49	LENT. MAR COS	1	---	var. a
283-284	448/1	48	L. HOSTILIUS SASERNA	2	NFA 518	var. a
285	448/2	48	L. HOSTILIUS SASERNA	1	NFA 519	
286	448/3	48	L. HOSTILIUS SASERNA	1	NFA 521; Tu (Fig. 49)	
287-288	449/1	48	C. VIBIUS C.F C.N PANSA	2	NFA 522, 523	1 of var. a.; 1 of var. b
289	449/2	48	C. VIBIUS C.F C.N PANSA	1	---	
290-292	452/2	48-47	CAESAR	3		
293	454/1	47	A. LICINUS NERVA IIIIVIR	---	Tu (Fig. 50)	not of original lots
294	455/1	47	C. ANNIUS C.F. RESTIO	1	NFA 524	
295-308	458/1	47-46	CAESAR	14	NFA 531; USC (Fig. 51)	
309-312	463/1	46	MN. CORDIUS RUFUS	4	NFA 526; G. McL (Fig. 52)	2 of var. a.; 2 var. b
313	463/2	46	MN. CORDIUS RUFUS	---	G-F (Fig. 53)	not of original lots
314-315	463/3	46	MN. CORDIUS RUFUS	---	G. McL (Fig. 54) Tu (Fig. 55) NFA 527	not of original lots
316	464/2	46	T. CARISIUS IIIIVIR	---	Tu (Fig. 56)	not of original lots
317	464/4	46	T. CARISIUS IIIIVIR	---	G-F (Fig. 57)	not of original lots
318-319	464/5	46	T. CARISIUS IIIIVIR	2	Tu (Fig. 58)	
320-321	465/2	45	C. CONSIDIUS PAETUS	2	G-F (Fig. 59)	var. a
322	465/3	45	C. CONSIDIUS PAETUS	1	G-F (Fig. 60)	
323-324	467/1	46	COS. TERT. DICT. ITER. AUGUR PONT. MAX	2	NFA 533	D on rev. (var. a)
325-326	468/1	46-45	CAESAR	2	---	
327	472/1	45	L. PAPIUS CELSUS IIIIVIR	1	NFA 528	
328	472/2	45	L. PAPIUS CELSUS IIIIVIR	1	---	with legend TRI PV (cf. RRC. 1. 481)
329-330	474/1	45	L. VALERIUS ACISCULUS	2	---	var. a

INV. #	RRC #	DATE	MONEYER	# IN HOARD*	REFERENCE DISPOSITION**	REMARKS
331-334	480/9	44	P. SEPULLIUS MACER	4		
335-338	480/13	44	P. SEPULLIUS MACER	4	NFA 536	
339	480/19	44	C. COSSUTIUS MARIDIANUS	1	---	var. w/obv. legend (L)ARE S PATRIAE (cf. RRC, 491)
340	480/20	44	P. SEPULLIUS MACER	1	---	
341	480/22	44	P. SEPULLIUS MACER	1	---	
342	494/23	42	P. CLODIUS M.F	1	---	
343	494/27	42	L. LIVINEIUS REGULUS	1	---	
344	494/28	42	L. LIVINEIUS REGULUS	1	---	
345	494/36	42	C. VIBIUS VARUS	1	---	
346	500/5	43-42	C. CASSI. IMP LEN- TULUS SPINT	1	NFA 538	
347	500/7	43-42	BRUTUS, LENTULUS SPINT	1	NFA 539	
348	544/21	32-31	ANT. AUG. IIIIVIR R.P.C.	1	---	leg VIII

*I=lot I, II=lot two. I have used these designations only through inv. #276; after that, all coins belong to lot II.

**NFA=Numismatic Fine Arts. Auction IV (1977); USC=Collection of the Department of Classics, University of Southern California;

G.McL =Getty Museum, McLendon donation; G-F=Getty Museum, Frel donation; G-Su=Getty Museum, from the Superior Auction, the Miguel Munoz Collection (June 1978); Tu=Tunney Collection, on loan to the Getty Museum.

ADDENDUM

A. Denarii from the Milan Hoards

Recorded on the Los Angeles Market (1/78)

RRC #	DATE	MONEYER	CONDITION	PHOTO REFERENCE
245/1	134	M. MARCI MN. F	v. slight wear	61
295/1	113-112	L. TORQUA Q	slight wear	62
340/1	90	L. PISO L.F. L.N FRUGI	worn	63
344/1b	89	L. TITURI L.F SABINUS	worn	64
407/2	68	C. HOSIDI C.F GETA	slight wear	65
421/1	59	SUFENAS	worn	66
442/1a	49	MN. ACILIUS	slight wear	67
464/1	46	T. CARISIUS	worn	68
465/2a	46	C. CONSIDIUS PAETUS	slight wear	69

B. Denarii from the Milan Hoards

Recorded on the Los Angeles Market (10/78)

RRC #	DATE	MONEYER	CONDITION	SUPERIOR CAT. NO.*
296/1g	112/111	CN. BLASIO CN.F	slight wear	87
323/1	101	L. IULI	v. slight wear	95
340/1	90	L. PISO L.F.L.N. FRUGI	no wear	104
340/1	90	L. PISO L.F.L.N. FRUGI	v. slight wear	105
342/56	90	C. VIBIUS C.F PANSA	no wear	102
352/1c	85	L. IULI BURSIO	some wear	119
357/1b	83	C. NORBANUS	worn	121
382/1a	79	C. NAE BALB	slight wear	127
429/1	55	P. FONTEIUS P.F CAPITO	v. slight wear	137
432/1	55	CN. PLANCIUS	no wear	138

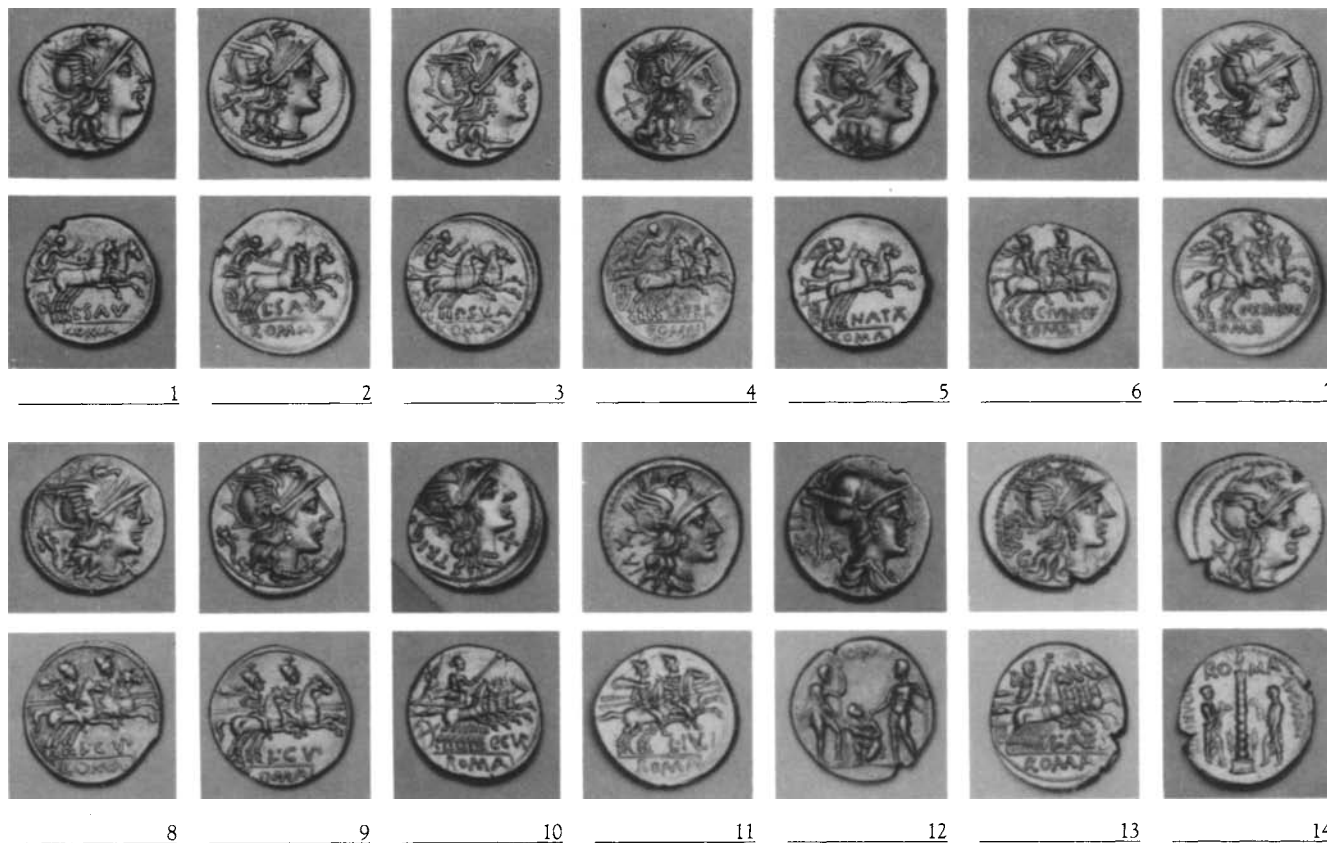
*Superior Stamp and Coin Co., The California Collection (Auction on October 4, 1978).

TABLE IV

Condition of the Denarii from the Milan Hoards
in the Getty Museum, Tunney Collection,
and Recorded in Trade, 1978.

RRC #	DATE	DISPOSITION	CONDITION	PHOTO REFERENCE	RRC #	DATE	DISPOSITION	CONDITION	PHOTO REFERENCE
204/1	152	G-McL	no wear	1	224/1	141	G-Tu	v. slight wear	11
204/1	152	G-Tu	no wear	2	234/1	137	G-Tu	slight wear	12
205/1	151	G-Tu	no wear	3	238/1	136	G-McL	v. slight wear	13
206/1	150	USC	slight wear	4	243/1	134	G-Tu	no wear	14
208/1	149	G-Tu	slight wear	5	245/1	134	In trade (1/78)	v. slight wear	61
210/1	149	G-Tu	no wear	6	250/1	132	USC	no wear	15
217/1	147	G-Tu	slight wear	7	256/1	130	G-Tu	no wear	16
218/1	147	G-McL	slight wear	8	257/1	130	G-Tu	no wear	17
218/1	147	G-Tu	no wear	9	261/1	128	G-Tu	no wear	18
223/1	143	G-Tu	no wear	10					

RRC #	DATE	DISPOSITION	CONDITION	PHOTO REFERENCE	RRC #	DATE	DISPOSITION	CONDITION	PHOTO REFERENCE
262/1	128	USC	no wear	19	422/1	58	G-McL	slight wear	39
293/1	113-112	USC	worn	20	422/1	58	G-McL	worn	40
295/1	113-112	In trade (1/78)	slight wear	62	422/1	58	G-McL	slight wear	41
308/1	108-107	USC	no wear	21	425/1	56	USC	slight wear	42
334/1	97	G-McL	v. slight wear	22	433/2	54	G-Su	some wear	43
337/3	91	USC	no wear	23	434/1	54	G-Su	no wear	44
340/1	90	In trade (1/78)	worn	63	442/1	49	USC	worn	45
343/1	89	USC	some wear	24	442/1	49	USC	slight wear	46
344/1b	89	In trade (1/78)	worn	64	442/1	49	In trade (1/78)	slight wear	67
360/1	82	USC	slight wear	25	443/1	49-48	USC	worn	47
364/1	83-2	USC	some wear	26	444/1	49	G-Tu	slight wear	48
367/1	82	G-McL	slight wear	27	448/3	48	G-Tu	worn	49
379/2	80	G-McL	slight wear	28	454/1	47	G-Tu	slight wear	50
383/1	79	USC	some wear	29	458/1	47-6	USC	no wear	51
387/1	77	G-McL	slight wear	30	463/1	46	G-McL	slight wear	52
392/1	75	G-Tu	slight wear	31	463/2	46	G-F	worn	53
393/1	76-75	G-McL	slight wear	32	463/3	46	G-Tu	slight wear	55
393/1	76-75	G-McL	slight wear	33	463/3	46	G-McL	v. slight wear	54
393/1	76-75	G-McL	slight wear	34	464/1	46	In trade (1/78)	worn	68
401/1	71	G-Tu	v. slight wear	35	464/2	46	G-Tu	slight wear	56
403/1	70	G-Tu	slight wear	36	464/4	46	G-F	worn	57
407/2	68	In trade (1/78)	slight wear	65	464/5	46	G-Tu	worn	58
409/1	67	USC	some wear	37	465/2	46	G-F	worn	59
415/1	62	USC	worn	38	465/2	46	In trade (1/78)	slight wear	69
421/1	59	In trade (1/78)	worn	66	465/3	46	G-F	worn	60





15 16 17 18 19 20 21



22 23 24 25 26 27 28



29 30 31 32 33 34 35



36 37 38 39 40 41 42



43 44 45 46 47 48 49



50 51 52 53 54 55 56



57 58 59 60 61 62 63



64 65 66 67 68 69

A New Roman Military Diploma

Ronald Mellor

In 1973 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a first century AD military diploma issued to a Roman auxiliary soldier. Both bronze tablets are intact; the text is well preserved and almost fully legible. The few indistinct letters on the outside face can easily be restored from the complete text on the inside face. I am particularly grateful to Professor Jiri Frel, Curator of Antiquities at the Getty Museum, for permission to publish this text and for his kind assistance and suggestions.*

TABLET I

(height 19.2 cm, width 15.1 cm, thickness 2–2.5 cm;
weight: 489 g.)

Outside Face:

IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·VESPASIANI·F·DOMITIANV/
AVGVSTVS·GERMANICVS·PONTIFEX·MAXIMVS
TRIBVNIC·POTESTAT·VIII·IMP·XVII·COS·XIII
CENSOR PERPETVVS P P
5 EQVITIBVS·ET·PEDITIBVS·QVI·MILITANT·IN·ALIS
QVINQVE·ET·COHORTIBVS·DVABVS·Q//E·APPEL
LANTVR·PRAETORIA·SINGVLARIVM·GALLO
RVM·ET·THRACVM·CONSTANTIVM·PHRYGVM
SEBASTENA·GALLORVM·ET·THRACVM·ANTIA
10 NA·I·CAETVLORVM·I·AVGVSTA·THRACVM
ET·SVNT·IN·SYRIA·SVB·P·VALERIO·PATRVINO
ITEM·DIMISSIS·HONESTA·MISSIONE·EX
IISDEM·ALIS·ET·COHORTIBVS·QVI·QVINA·ET·VI
CENA·STIPENDIA·AVT·PLVRA·MERVERANT
15 QVORVM·NOMINA·SVBSCRIPTA·SVNT
●
●
IPSI·LIBERIS·POSTERISQVE·EORVM·CIVI
TATEM·DEDIT·ET·CONVBIVM·CVM·VXORIBVS
QVAS·TVNC·HABVSSENT·CVM·EST·CIVITAS
IIS·DATA·AVT·SIQVI·CAELIBES·ESSENT·CVM
20 IIS·QVAS·POSTEA·DVXISSENT·DVM

TAXAT·SINGVLI· SINGVLAS
A· D·VII·IDVS NOVEMBR
M· OTACILIO CATVLO COS
SEX IVLIO SPAR//
25 ALAE·PHRYGVM CVI PRAEST
M HELENIVS PRISCVS
GREGALI
DASSIO·DASENTIS·F·PANNON
DESCRIPTVM·ET·RECOGNITVM·EX·TABVLA
30 AENEA·QVAE·FIXA·EST·ROMAE·IN·CAPITOLIO
IN·LATERE·SINISTRO·TABVLARI·PVBLICI ●

Inside Face:

IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·VESPASIANI·F·DOMITIANVS
AVGVSTVS·GERMANICVS·PONTIFEX·MAXIMVS
TRIBVNIC·POTESTAT·VIII·IMP·XVII·COS·XIII
CENSOR PERPE ● TVVS P P
5 EQVITIBVS·ET·PEDITIBVS·QVI·MILITANT·IN·ALIS
QVINQVE·ET·COHORTIBVS·DVABVS·QVAE·APPEL
LANTVR·PRAETORIA·SINGVLARIVM·GALLO
RVM·ET·THRACVM·CONSTANTIVM·PHRYGVM
SEBASTENA·GALLORVM·ET·THRACVM·ANTIA
10 NA·I·GAETVLORVM·I·AVGVSTA·THRACVM·ET
SVNT·IN·SYRIA·SVB·P·VALERIO·PATRVINO
ITEM·DIMISSIS·HONE ● STA·MISSIONE·EX
IISDEM·ALIS·ET·COHORTIBVS·QVI·QVINA·ET
VICENA·STIPENDIA·AVT·PLVRA·MERVERANT
15 ● QVORVM·NOMINA·SVBSCRIPTA·SVNT ●

TABLET II

(height: 19.2 cm; width 15.1–15.2 cm; thickness 2–3 cm.
weight: 502 g.)

Inside Face:

● IPSI·LIBERIS·POSTERISQVE·EORVM·CIVITA ●
TEM·DEDIT·ET·CONVBIVM·CVM·VXORIBVS
QVAS·TVNC·HABVIS ● SENT·CVM·EST·CIVITAS
IIS·DATA·AVT·SIQVI·CAELIBES·ESSENT·CVM

*Getty Acquisition no. 73.AC.39. Preliminary text published in *ZPE* 16 (1975) 121–124. I am grateful to Margaret Roxan and Michael Speidel

for numerous suggestions and corrections, as well as making available to me their forthcoming publications.



Figure 1. Roman Military Diploma. Tablet 1, outside. Malibu.



Figure 2. Tablet 1, inside.

20 IIS QVAS-POSTEA-DVXISSENT-DVMTAXAT
 SINGVLI-SINGVLAS
 A · D · VII · IDVS-NOVEMBR
 M·OTACILIO-CATVLO-SEX·IVLIO-SPARSO-COS
 ALAE-PHRYGVM-CVI-PRAEST
 25 M · HELENIVS PRISCVS
 · GREGALI ·
 DASSIO-DASENTIS ● F PANNON
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX-TABVLA AENEA
 QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN CAPITOLIO

Outside Face:

Q-MVCI	●	AVGVSTALIS
M CALPVRNI	●	IVSTI
C-LVCRETI		MODESTI

C CLAVDI		SEMENTIVI
C POMPEI		EVTRAPELI
C-IVLI	●	HELENI
L-PVLLI	●	VERECVNDI

Imp(erator) Caesar, divi Vespasiani f(ilius), Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, pontifex maximus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) VIII, imp(erator) XVII, co(n)s(ul) XIII, censor perpetuus, p(ater) p(atriae)
 equitibus et peditibus, qui militant in alis quinque et cohortibus duabus quae appellantur (1) praetoria singu-



Figure 3. Roman Military Diploma. Tablet 2, outside. Malibu.

larium, (2) Gallorum et Thracum constantium, (3) Phrygum, (4) Sebastena, (5) Gallorum et Thracum Antiana; (1) I Gaetulorum, (2) I Augusta Thracum et sunt in Syria sub P(ublio) Valerio Patruino, item dimissis honesta missione ex iisdem alis et cohortibus, qui quina et vicena stipendia meruerant,

quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data, aut siqui caelibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas

a(nte) d(iem) VII idus Novembr(es), M(anio) Otacilio Catulo, S(exto) Iulio Sparso co(n)s(ulibus),

alae Phrygum, cui prae(e)st M(arcus) Helenius Priscus, gregali Dassio Dasentis f(ilio) Pannonio. Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea, quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio in latere sinistro tabulari publici.

Q(uiti) Muci	Augustalis
M(arci) Calpurni	Iusti
G(aii) Lucreti	Modesti
G(aii) Claudii	Sementivi
G(aii) Pompei	Eutrapeli
G(aii) Iuli	Heleni
L(uci) Pulli	Verecundi

* * *



Figure 4. Tablet 2, inside.

THE DATE OF THE GETTY DIPLOMA

The Getty diploma was issued on November 7, 88 to one Dassius, an auxiliary soldier serving in the Syrian army. The date, established by the imperial titulature and the suffect consuls, is of particular interest since another Syrian diploma (CIL XVI 35) was issued on precisely the same day.¹ The *alae* and *cohortes* listed in the Getty diploma do not overlap with the units of CIL XVI 35.

That diploma's 3 *alae* and 17 *cohortes* and the Getty text's 5 *alae* and 2 *cohortes* give a total of at least 8 *alae* and 19 *cohortes* serving in Syria at that time. It is not unusual that two or three diplomas issued in a given province on a single day survive; less frequently one finds two such diplomas listing different units and thus derived from different imperial *constitutiones*.²

1) Alföldi JRS 29 (1939) 28ff. published a Syrian diploma issued on Nov. 8, 88, but that seems to be a forgery; cf. p. 179 below.

2) Three other examples are known: 1) Syria, May 12, 91—AE 1961 #319 (=Botusarova *Studia in honorem Acad. D. Decev* (Sofia, 1959)

317 ff.; AE 1962 #264 bis (=Gerov *Klio* 37 (1959) 210 ff.); 2) Moesia, August 14, 99—CIL XVI 44–45; 3) Mauretania Tingitana, October 14, 109—CIL XVI Supplementum 161–162.

FORMULAS USED IN THE GETTY DIPLOMA

Military diplomas issued before 110 fall into three major types: those issued to serving soldiers (Type I); those issued to both serving soldiers and veterans (II); and those issued to veterans alone (III).³ Type IIB diplomas, to which the Getty diploma belongs, use many different formulas with almost no substantive difference.⁴ Placed in chronological order, the formulas of Type IIB seem to show a definite evolution as when the superfluous phrase *ex iisdem cohortibus* disappears by 90.⁵ The Getty text does not fit into the established pattern, as is clear when we examine the diplomas of Type IIB which chronologically fall on either side of the Getty text:

CIL XVI 34 (Jan.–Sept., 88): *item dimissis honesta missione ex iisdem cohortibus, quinīs et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis*

Getty text (Nov. 7, 88): *item dimissis honesta missione ex iisdem alis et cohortibus qui quina et vicena stipendia meruerant*

CIL XVI 36 (Oct. 27, 90): *item dimissis honesta missione, quinīs et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis*

The disappearance of *ex iisdem cohortibus* can now be placed between Nov. 88 and Oct. 90, but *meruerant* occurs on no other Type II diploma. Here the wording of CIL XVI 35 (Type I) is instructive: *qui quina et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerant*. The Getty formula was clearly adapted from this Type I diploma issued on the same day. We can see no obvious reason for this change; the bureaucrats who drafted these *constitutiones* were fond of such minor revisions.

But a puzzle remains: why was it necessary to use two *constitutiones* on the same day in the same province? On Nov. 7, 88, one text deals with serving soldiers and the

other with mixed units, but such a neat division is not supported by other instances of multiple *constitutiones* issued in one province on a single day.⁶ I prefer the suggestion that auxiliary units were attached to individual legionary commands and separate lists were compiled for the units attached to each legion.⁷ Although the evidence remains inconclusive, the Getty diploma seems to support this theory.⁸ A few inscriptions contain variants of the phrase *legio . . . et auxilia eius*,⁹ and Tacitus refers to some Batavian cohorts as *auxilia quartae decimae legionis*.¹⁰ These few references, along with evidence from the diplomas, must suffice until additional evidence either confirms or refutes this suggestion.

The grant of citizenship to the soldiers and their children follows the standard formula used down to the reign of Antoninus Pius when an abrupt policy change excluded the children.¹¹

PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE GETTY DIPLOMA

P. VALERIUS PATRUINUS—CIL XVI 35 had already listed Patruinus as governor of Syria. After his consulship (82–83), he served as governor of Cappadocia-Galatia where a dedication from the sanctuary of Men Askaenos in Pisidian Antiocheia attests his presence.¹² After his appointment to Syria in 87–88, he probably served the usual three year term and was back in Rome by 91 when he is listed among the *sodales Augustales*.¹³

M. OTACILIUS CATULUS—Though all other evidence attesting Catulus as suffect consul in 88 gives his praenomen as M(arcus),¹⁴ both sides of the Getty diploma clearly give the name M(anius). His praenomen rests on epigraphical evidence alone since the single literary mention merely calls him Otacilius Catulus.¹⁵ CIL XVI 35—discovered in Bulgaria in 1923 and published by Welkow shortly thereafter—first supplied the praenomen and consular year of Catulus.¹⁶ On both the extrinsecus

3) Alföldy *Historia* 17 (1968) 215 ff.; Mann *Epigraphische Studien* 9 (1972) 233 ff.

4) Mann *Ibid.* 236 sees in these changes “a contest between verbosity and conciseness.”

5) Mann *Ibid.* table II; CIL XVI 36 omits *ex iisdem cohortibus*.

6) Roxan *Military Diplomas Published Since CIL XVI Supplementum Papers of the Institute of Archaeology* (London, 1978) #3 n. 3 mentions Mann’s suggestion that CIL XVI 35 and the Getty text have mutually exclusive lists of units since one was issued to serving soldiers and the other to veterans. (Hereafter, *Roxan Military Diplomas*)

7) Cheesman *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Oxford, 1914) 49 ff. (Hereafter *Cheesman Auxilia*)

8) AE 1961 #319 of 91 contains four units from the Getty diploma and seven from CIL XVI 35, which might indicate that auxiliary units were not attached to legionary commands, or that there was reassignment of units between 88 and 91. Until a tenable hypothesis is offered for multiple *constitutiones*, I prefer the latter explanation.

9) CIL III 3228; VIII 2627; cf. Cheesman *Auxilia* 51.

10) Tacitus *Hist.* 1, 59.

11) The new formula first appears in full on CIL XVI 90; cf. Nesselhauf *Historia* 8 (1959) 434–442.

12) Dedication: Hardie *JHS* 32 (1912) 131 #23; on governorship, cf. Kreiler *CHIRON* 4 (1974) 451 f.

13) CIL VI 1988; cf. Eck *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (Munich, 1970) 140. On the governors of Syria, cf. Alföldy-Halfmann *CHIRON* 3 (1973) 361 ff.

14) Thus Degraffi *I Fasti Consolari dell’Impero Romano* (Rome, 1952) 27.

15) Digest 31, 29.

16) Welkow *Bulletin de l’institut archéologique bulgare* 4 (1926/1927) 69–80.

17) *Ibid.* Tablet I (plate 33); Tablet II (plate 32).

18) The M is most obvious on CIL XVI 35 Tabula II, upper left plate, beginning of l. 25.

of Tablet I and the intus of Tablet II, Welkow transcribed the praenomen as M(arcus), but his own plates call that transcription into question. On Tablet I the tail on the *M* is perfectly clear, and it is also clear (though less so) on Tablet II.¹⁷ Though Nesselhauf had photographs which he reproduced in *CIL* XVI, he seems to have adopted Welkow's transcription despite the clear testimony of these plates.¹⁸

The *Fasti consulares* from Potentia published in 1948 also attest the suffect consul of 88 as M. Otacilius Catulus.¹⁹ But, despite the clarity of the stone, this evidence is also flawed since the stonecutter abbreviates both *Manius* and *Marcus* with *M*.²⁰ For example, two consuls whose names are known independently—*Manius Acilius Glabrio* of 91 and *Manius Laberius Maximus* of 89—have their *praenomina* incorrectly abbreviated as *M*.²¹ Thus the Potentia text provides no independent confirmation for *Marcus* or *Manius* since the stonecutter did not distinguish between them.

The third attestation of Catulus' *praenomen* as M(arcus) is a military diploma first published by A. Alföldi in 1939.²² This diploma, said to have been found in the Danube, bears the date Nov. 8, 88—one day after *CIL* XVI 35 and the Getty text. This text, also issued to auxiliaries serving in Syria, is virtually identical to *CIL* XVI 35 save for the name of the recipient, the Dacian Gorio. (This name gave this diploma its importance, since it is a rare instance of the use of Dacians in the Roman army before Trajan.) But Nesselhauf doubted its authenticity and did not accept it into *CIL* XVI Supplementum.²³ He saw badly formed letters of *CIL* XVI 35 repeated on the Alföldi diploma which also seemed considerably smaller than usual for a Flavian diploma.²⁴ More recently, Limentani uncovered a photograph showing this text in better condition than at the time of its "discovery" in the Danube.²⁵ So the evidence indicates that the Alföldi diploma is a modern forgery, made not from *CIL* XVI 35 itself, but from the Bulgarian publication. And though the forger has imitated letter forms from Welkow's plates,

he did not follow them exactly but accepted Welkow's erroneous transcriptions of M(arcus) at face value.²⁶

There is, therefore, no evidence for M(arcus). One text was misread, another is a forgery based on the misreading, and the Potentia *Fasti* is equivocal. The reading of *M* (aninus) in the Getty diploma is correct, and the consular *fasti* for 88 must now be corrected to incorporate it.

SEX. IULIUS SPARSUS—Like his colleague Catulus, Sparsus is attested on *CIL* XVI 35, the Potentia *Fasti*, and the Alföldi diploma.²⁷ He can perhaps be identified with the Julius Sparsus to whom Pliny addressed two letters,²⁸ and Martial's friend Sparsus may also be the suffect consul of 88.²⁹

M. HELENIUS PRISCUS—This prefect of the Ala Phrygum is otherwise unknown. The name has an Italian distribution, and was perhaps of Etruscan origin.³⁰

DASSIUS, DASENTIS FILIUS—Both the names Das(s)ius and Das(s)es are well attested in Pannonia, particularly in the area of Sirmium.³¹ They are also found in Dalmatia confirming the ancient tradition (recorded in Appian and Strabo) that Pannonian peoples lived in northern Dalmatia.³² Such Pannonian names were linguistically Illyrian and occur in areas like Dardania which were contact points between the Thracian and Illyrian peoples.³³

Other auxiliaries named Dassius and Dasses are attested in the first century, and by the second century they appear as cognomina of Roman citizens.³⁴ Some were discharged auxiliaries, while others who served in the legions were the sons of such auxiliaries.³⁵ Though a Tiberius Claudius Dasius received citizenship early, the Dassii are usually in the Valerian, Ulpian, or Aelian gentes.³⁶

There is no other evidence for Dassius, son of Dases, though another auxiliary of the same name (identified as a Dalmatian) received his diploma a few years earlier in 84.³⁷

19) Alfieri *Athenaeum* 26 (1948) 110–134; n. b. 124.

20) Alfieri says "Il lapicida ignora la forma abbreviata di *Manius*, onde questo *praenomen* si confonde con *Marcus*."

21) *Ibid.* 118; 128; 126.

22) *JRS* 29 (1939) 28–31.

23) *CIL* XVI Supplementum p. 216.

24) The dimensions are 11.8 cm by 9.4 cm. *CIL* XVI 35 is 18.8 cm by 14.8 cm while the Getty diploma is 19.2 cm by 15.1 cm. The range of diplomas issued under the Flavians is from 15 cm to 21 cm in height, and 12 cm to 16 cm in width. (*CIL* XVI p. 151)

25) *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* (Rome, 1959) 81 ff.

26) Nesselhauf *CIL* XVI Supplementum 216 noted the similarity between the size of the Danube diploma and that of Welkow's (reduced) plates.

27) Cf. Garzetti *Nerva* (Rome, 1950) 134 #79.

28) *Epist.* 4, 5; 8, 3. Cf. Sherwin-White *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford, 1966) 269; 450.

29) Martial 12, 57.

30) Schulze *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen* Abhand. der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. zu Göttingen (Berlin, 1904) 174.

31) Mocsy *Pannonia and Moesia Superior* (London, 1974) 59.

32) Appian *Illyrian Wars* 17; Strabo 8, 5, 3; cf. Wilkes *Dalmatia* (London, 1969) 168 f.

33) Mocsy *op. cit.* 65.

34) First century: *CIL* XVI 2; 30; III 7801; III p. 940 vii. Second Century: *CIL* III 4491; 10511; 15134; XVI 100.

35) Legionary veterans: *CIL* III 10511; AE 1909 #143.

36) Valerii: *CIL* X 3375; XVI 100; Ulpri: *CIL* III 4491; 15134; Aelii: AE 1909 #143.

37) *CIL* XVI 30. For a Christian martyr with this name, cf. Mocsy *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* (Amsterdam, 1970) 249.

TESTATORES

The earliest *signatores* (who affixed their *signa* in wax to the rear of the diploma) may well have attested these documents locally in the camps where they were distributed,³⁸ but the names on the Getty diploma are all professional civil servants. No evidence indicates what branch of the imperial bureaucracy was responsible for keeping these records, drafting the *constitutio* and erecting a bronze copy on the Capitol, and issuing diplomas. It was probably a function of the *aerarium militare*, which was responsible for the financial side of legionary discharges.

The seven witnesses (*testatores*) on the Getty diploma also affixed their names to CIL XVI 35, and they can also be found on other texts: C. Julius Helenus (3 diplomas between 86 and 88); M. Calpurnius Justus (5 diplomas between 86 and 91); T. Claudius Sementivus (4 diplomas between 80 and 88); Q. Mucius Augustalis (7 diplomas between 79 and 90); L. Pompeius Eutrapelus (7 diplomas between 80 and 91); C. Lucretius Modestus (8 diplomas between 82 and 91); and L. Pullius Verecundus (15 diplomas between 79 and 129).³⁹ Verecundus, unless these texts refer to a father and son, had a career of fifty years in the same office!

On some diplomas there are traces of the ink and wax used by these witnesses, but the Getty diploma bears no such traces.⁴⁰

AUXILIARY UNITS MENTIONED ON THE GETTY DIPLOMA

Perhaps the most valuable information provided by military diplomas is the deployment of Roman military units at a given time. Each new diploma must be carefully examined for its contribution to our knowledge of Rome's military dispositions.

1) ALA PRAETORIA SINGULARIUM

The title of this cavalry squadron shows that it was originally attached to legionary headquarters or to a member of the imperial family (like the praetorian cohorts).⁴¹ *Singularium* derives

from the *Singulares* who were the personal guards of the Roman commander. Tacitus calls Germanicus' bodyguard *delectus eques*, and this may well be equated with the *ala praetoria* that fought under Germanicus in the German war.⁴² Though the mounted guard was raised to the status of *ala praetoria* in the reign of Tiberius, the title *singularium* showing the origin of this unit is not attested until 88 when the Getty text gives the full title *ala praetoria singularium*.⁴³

The unit remained in Lower Germany through the Julio-Claudian period,⁴⁴ while an *ala I singularium* also served on the Rhine in the army of Upper Germany.⁴⁵ The *ala praetoria* probably accompanied Vitellius on his march to Italy, where it later opportunely joined the forces of Vespasian and received the honorific title of *Flavia*.⁴⁶ It did not return to Germany after the civil war but appears in 85 on the Danubian frontier as part of Domitian's military build-up in that area.⁴⁷ The *Ala praetoria* was stationed at Teutoburgium (Dalj) in Pannonia which remained its permanent camp save for two brief assignments in Syria.⁴⁸

The first tour of duty in Syria was brief indeed. The unit first appears in Syria on the Getty diploma of 88, which is a bit surprising in view of the fighting on the Danubian frontier in the late 80s.⁴⁹ Perhaps the transfer to the East occurred during the peaceful year of 85, before the Dacians launched a surprise assault on Roman forces at the very end of that year.⁵⁰ The *Ala praetoria* is again attested in Syria in 91, but by 93 it had returned to its station on the Danube.⁵¹ There it presumably took part in Domitian's campaign against the *lazyes* and the *Sarmatians*.⁵² Between 93 and 103 the *Ala praetoria* appeared on diplomas from Moesia Superior and after 110 it reappears on diplomas of Lower Pannonia, but it retained the same camp at Teutoburgium during the entire period.⁵³ When Domitian created Upper Moesia in 86, he transferred the southern part

38) Nesselhauf CIL XVI p. 198.

39) C. Julius Helenus: CIL XVI 32; 35; Getty text. M. Calpurnius Justus: CIL XVI 32; 35; Getty text; XVI 37; AE 1961 #319. T. Claudius Sementivus: CIL XVI 26; 29; 35; Getty text. Q. Mucius Augustalis: CIL XVI 24; 28; 29; 30; 35; Getty text; XVI 36. L. Pompeius Eutrapelus: CIL XVI 26; 28; 29; 35; Getty text; XVI 36; AE 1961 #319. C. Lucretius Modestus: CIL XVI 28; 29; 30; 35; Getty text; XVI 36; 159; AE 1961 #319. L. Pullius Verecundus: CIL XVI 24; 35; Getty text; 36; 38; 46; Russu *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane* (Bucarest, 1975) I #26; XVI 49; 160; 55; 163; 61; 65; AE 1965 #131; Russu *op. cit.* #28; XVI 74.

40) Cf. CIL XVI 108.

41) Speidel *Germania* 53 (1975) 165; Speidel *Guards of the Roman Armies* (Bonn, 1978) 61–62.

42) Tacitus *Annales* 2, 16. An inscription provides the earliest mention of the *Ala praetoria*; Cook *The Troad* (Oxford, 1973) 412 #50 (ed. by G. E. Bean). On this text, cf. Brunt *ZPE* 13 (1974) 161 ff.; Speidel *Germania* 53 (1975) 165.

43) Speidel *ibid.* 165 f.; Speidel *Guards* 61; Alföldy *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior Epigraphische Studien* 6 (1968) 30. For other interpretation of *singularium*, cf. Radnoti-Barkoczi AAH 1 (1951) 198 (unit filled up with *equites singulares*) and Nagy AAH 7 (1956)

61 (title granted by Trajan as a reward). Nagy's suggestion is disproved by the Getty diploma and by AE 1961 #319.

44) CIL XIII 8310 (=Alföldy *ibid.* #56).

45) Alföldy *ibid.* 33 f.

46) *Ibid.* 31. For *Flavia*, cf. AE 1961 #319.

47) CIL XVI 31. It does not appear on the German diploma of 78 (CIL XVI 23). On Domitian's military buildup, cf. Mocsy *Pannonia and Upper Mōesia* (London, 1974) 81 f.

48) Radnoti "Zur Dislokation der Auxiliartruppen in den Donau-provinzen" *Limes-Studien* (Basel, 1959) 138. On the permanence of its camp, cf. Radnoti-Barkoczi AAH 1 (1951) 198.

49) Suetonius *Domitian* 6; Mocsy *op. cit.* 82 f.

50) Suetonius *Domitian* 6.

51) AE 1961 #319; CIL XVI 39.

52) Mocsy *op. cit.* 85 (with references).

53) CIL XVI 39; 46; 54 from Moesia; ILS 2539 is the Trajanic tombstone of a decurion of the *Ala* found at Teutoburgium.

54) Mocsy *op. cit.* 82.

55) Mocsy "Pannonia" RE Supplement IX (1962) 584; Mocsy *Pannonia*

of the Pannonian frontier to the legate of that province.⁵⁴ But two decades later Trajan divided Pannonia and returned the Danube between the Save and the Drave to the command of Lower Pannonia.⁵⁵ The honorific title *civium Romanorum* was granted by Trajan for service during the Dacian wars.⁵⁶

Though the *Ala praetoria* was again sent East under Marcus Aurelius and provided a vexillation for action against the Parthians, it returned to the Danube where its prefect, M. Rossius Vitulus, supported Septimius Severus' march on Rome in 193.⁵⁷ There is no further evidence for the *Ala praetoria* after 193.⁵⁸ The three known prefects of this unit all served during the second century: T. Annius Maximus Pomponianus; M. Statius Licinius Italicus; and M. Rossius Vitulus.⁵⁹

2) ALA GALLORUM ET THRACUM CONSTANTIUM

This is one of many *alae* combining Gauls with another people. Long familiar with the excellence of Gallic horsemanship, the Romans established such combined units to enable their other auxiliaries to acquire Gallic equestrian expertise.⁶⁰ Though the *Ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium* may have been stationed in Syria as early as 54, the first definite evidence is the Getty diploma of 88.⁶¹ The unit appears on a Syrian diploma of 91 and later moved to Judaea (Syria Palestina) where it appears in the diploma of 139 and the Hebron diploma of 186.⁶² Only the name of the prefect Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus survives.⁶³

Constantium is clearly an honorific title and one that must have been unique, since Subatianus' cursus lists *ala constantium* without further identification.⁶⁴ The unit may perhaps be identified with an *Ala Constantiana* mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁶⁵

3) ALA PHRYGUM

For many years the only known *ala* from the Phrygian series

was the *Ala VII Phrygum*, and its high number together with the absence of any other Phrygian units led some scholars to question its authenticity.⁶⁶ But additional texts now attest an *Ala (I) Phrygum* and confirm the *Ala VII Phrygum*, and we must ascribe the absence of others to the fortune of survival.⁶⁷

The Getty diploma was awarded to Dassius, a Pannonian serving in the *Ala Phrygum*. The unit must have been stationed along the Danube in the early 60s when Dassius was recruited there. By 88 the unit had moved to Syria, perhaps to deal with the troubles in Judaea after 66. It remained there for some time and can be identified on a fragmentary Syrian text of the Antonine era.⁶⁸

4) ALA SEBASTENA

King Herod the Great recruited cavalry and infantry from the ancient city of Samaria, rededicated Sebaste in 10 BC in honor of Augustus.⁶⁹ Like other detachments from urbanized areas, these were named from their city rather than from tribes or regions.⁷⁰ The 3000 troops, organized into one *ala* and five infantry cohorts, had been recruited before the death of Herod in 4 B.C.⁷¹

In 44 Claudius ordered the Roman procurator of Judaea to transfer all six Sebastene units to Pontus.⁷² The troops had not been disloyal, but the emperor wished to rebuke the Caesareans and Sebastians for their insults to Herod Agrippa after his death. But the transfer never took place; these units from Herod's hellenized cities were presumably too valuable as a check against nationalist activity among the Jews. Thus in 49 the procurator Ventidius Cumanus led these auxiliaries and other Samaritans against the Jews, though his lack of success cost him his position.⁷³

Although the *Ala Sebastena* remained loyal during the Jewish War and was rewarded with the title *Flavia*, Josephus reports that Vespasian transferred it and the Sebastene cohorts out of Judaea.⁷⁴ Syrian military diplomas confirm this move as the *Ala*

and Upper Moesia (London, 1974) 92; Nagy AAH 7 (1956) 62; Wagner *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen* (Berlin, 1938) 63. CIL XVI 164; 175; 179; 180.

56) CIL XVI 164; Nagy AAH 7 (1956) 61; Speidel *Guards* 62.

57) In East: ILS 2724; cf. Saxer *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian* Epigraphische Studien 1 (1967) 34 #64. Vitulus: ILS 9015; cf. Ritterling *Germania* 1 (1917) 132 f.

58) *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. 38, 26 records an *Ala praetoria nuper constituta*, but this can hardly be the *Ala praetoria*.

59) ILS 2725; 1092; 9015.

60) Kraft *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen and Kohorten an Rhein und Donau* (Bern, 1951) 26 ff.

61) Roxan in *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* BAR Supplement 15 (1976) 62; 70 n. 23 plausibly restores CIL XVI 3 and attributes it to Syria.

62) AE 1961 #319; CIL XVI 87; the original publication of the Hebron diploma was *Latomus* 35 (1976) 118 ff. but that text is much improved by Roxan *Military Diplomas* #69.

63) CIL XIV 5351; ILS 9488.

64) CIL XIV 5351 also simply reads ALAE·EQVIT·CONS.

65) Or. 34, 34.

66) Cheesman *Auxilia* 61 n. 7; Hallermann *Untersuchungen zu den Truppenbewegungen in den Jahren 68/69 n. Chr.* (Diss. Würzburg, 1963) 53 ff.

67) *Ala (I) Phrygum*: Getty text; CIL XVI 103 (restored); ILS 2711; 2741; AE 1925 #44; 1933 #270; IGRR III 670–672. *Ala VII Phrygum*: CIL XVI 87; ILS 2724; IGRR III 487; 500; AE 1941 #153.

68) CIL XVI 103 (where Nesselhauf read [VI] I PHR). The existence of a simple *Ala Phrygum* in Syria in the Getty text makes Nesselhauf's addition imprudent and unnecessary.

69) Josephus AJ 19, 365–366; BJ 2, 52; 58; 63; 74; 236.

70) Cheesman *Auxilia* 58 ff. This practice was common in the East: Tyrorum; Apamenorum; Antiochensium; Chalcidenorum; Damasce-norum; etc.

71) Josephus BJ 2, 52.

72) Josephus AJ 19, 365–366.

73) Josephus AJ 20, 122; BJ 2, 236.

74) AJ 19, 365; cf. Cichorius RE I 1260; for the epithet, cf. ILS 1436.

Sebastena appears on the Getty text and the *Cohors I Sebastena* on diplomas of 88 and 91.⁷⁵ These Sebastene units were apparently deployed as a unified force in both Judaea and Syria, since they were most useful in containing and suppressing the nationalism and zealotry of the Jews. The *Cohors I Sebastena* returned to Syria Palestina where it appears on diplomas of 139, 154/160 and 186, and where it was upgraded to a milliary unit.⁷⁶ The *Ala Sebastena* probably also returned to Palestine, perhaps as part of Hadrian's task force to suppress Bar Kokhba's revolt. It remained in the area (like the cohorts) and it too was upgraded to a milliary unit and so appears under the Dux Palestinae in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁷⁷

5) ALA GALLORUM ET THRACUM ANTIANA

Julius Caesar began the practice of naming Gallic cavalry units from the legates who recruited them.⁷⁸ Lambrino first recognized that this unit took its name from C. Antius, the legate of Germanicus who in 16 conducted a Gallic census.⁷⁹ The Thracian horsemen were added several decades later. The savage Thracian opposition to Roman conscription and removal of their young men had led Rome to leave Thracians in their homeland, but these Thracian units were joined with experienced Gallic cavalry to diminish the danger of these auxiliaries joining local insurrections as had occurred in Pannonia.⁸⁰

In 54 the *Ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana* appears in Syria, following the precedent of Thracians, Gauls and Germans fighting under Herod.⁸¹ The unit is listed on the Getty diploma and later appears in Syria Palestina as the *Ala Gallorum Antiana* on diplomas of 139, 154/161 and 186.⁸² It also appears as the *Ala Antiana dromedariorum* under the Dux Palestinae in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁸³

6) COHORS I GAETULORUM

The *Cohors I Gaetulorum*, recruited in North Africa, is attested in Syria by the Getty diploma of 88 and another diploma three

years later.⁸⁴ The unit served under the Dux Osrhoenae in the fourth century, but its movements are otherwise unknown.⁸⁵ M. Claudius Restitutus and T. Antonius Arignotus served as prefects during the second century, but their careers provide no other information.⁸⁶

7) COHORS I AUGUSTUS THRACUM

The Romans somewhat haphazardly named and numbered new auxiliary units, nor did they consistently record the honorific titles on diplomas or other inscriptions. Distinguishing titles appear and disappear, sometimes varying from the inside to the outside text on a single diploma.⁸⁷ Scholars have attempted to explain the numeration, but every explanation is itself called into doubt by the many exceptions.⁸⁸ The Thracian units are perhaps the most confusing and M.G. Jarrett, who has recently studied them in detail, laments:

Unfortunately for the modern scholar, the Roman army was unmethodical in its numbering and naming of units, and every time new Thracian units were raised, they numbered from *cohors* (or *ala*) I upwards; only rarely was a distinguishing title added—and this might not be used consistently and invariably. In consequence, there are at least five units which might appear in inscriptions as *ala I Thracum*, and at least eleven with the title *cohors I Thracum*.⁸⁹

Such overlapping titles make it virtually impossible to trace a unit's movements back and forth across the Empire as can be done for units with unique titles. It is necessary to seek the simplest explanation demanding the fewest moves.⁹⁰ It is difficult enough to distinguish those units called *Cohors I Thracum* which appeared in the East without introducing European movements, so I remain skeptical of movements back and forth to Europe.⁹¹

A variety of interpretations exist for the dozen or more texts mentioning a *Cohors I Thracum* in the East. My own approach is to divide the texts into those that seem to refer to a milliary

75) CIL XVI 35; AE 1961 #319.

76) CIL XVI 87 (139); *Roxan Military Diplomas* #60 (149/161); #69 (186) = *Latomus* 35 (1976) 118 ff. One side of CIL XVI 87 identifies the *Cohors Sebastena* as a milliary unit, though the milliary sign (∞) is omitted on the other side.

77) Or. 34, 32. Roxan (n. 61 above) suggests that this milliary ala may be the result of upgrading the milliary cohort to cavalry status. Though this is possible, I prefer to regard both Sebastene units surviving as milliary units.

78) Cheesman *Auxilia* 24 ff. For examples of this practice in the East, cf. Speidel "The Eastern Desert Garrisons Under Augustus and Tiberius" *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II* (Cologne-Bonn, 1977) 511–515.

79) *Revue de Philologie* 5 (1931) 257; for the Gallic census, cf. Tacitus *Annales* 2, 6. C. Antius: PIR² I 780.

80) Stein *Römische Beamte und Truppenkörper in Deutschland* (Vienna, 1932); for the Thracian rebellion of 26, cf. Tacitus *Annales* 4, 46.

81) CIL XVI 3; for its service in Syria, cf. Kraft *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten am Rhein und Donau* (Bern, 1951) 148; Roxan (n. 61 above) 62. For Herod's troops, cf. Josephus AJ 17, 198.

82) CIL XVI 87; *Roxan Military Diplomas* #55; #69.

83) Or. 34, 33; cf. Lambrino *RPh* 5 (1931) 260.

84) AE 1961 #319.

85) *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. 35, 32.

86) ILS 1437;8853. While Arignotus was praepositus of I Gaetulorum, he also served as tribune of I Cilicum which is attested in Moesia from 78 to 134. Jarrett *ES* 9 (1972) 170 therefore assigns I Gaetulorum to Moesia, but there is no reason why I Cilicum might not have been sent to the East during the recurring troubles there, or a vexillation of it was sent there.

87) E.g. CIL XVI 87 and n. 76 above.

88) Cheesman *Auxilia* 59 ff.; Jarrett *Israel Exploration Journal* 19 (1969) 215 ff.

89) *Ibid.* 215.

90) Jarrett *Ibid.* 216 also enunciates this principle; the principle seems obvious, but adherence to it is difficult.

91) I see no good reason for considering the *Cohors I Augusta Thracum* c. R. attested in Pannonia in 167 (CIL XVI 123) to be an eastern unit

cohort and those that do not.⁹² The confused evidence can then be reduced to two *Cohortes I Thracum*—one quingenary and one milliary—on service in Judaea, Syria and Arabia from the first to the fourth century.⁹³

A Judaeen diploma of 86 provides the earliest evidence for the quingenary *Cohors I Thracum*.⁹⁴ The Getty diploma shows that by 88 the unit (with the epithet *Augusta* added) had been transferred to the governor of Syria. Since *Augusta* could be added under any emperor and lacks the historical force of *Flavia* or *Ulpia*, the epithet appears and disappears with less regularity. This troop movement from Judaea to Syria is perhaps connected with Parthian activity and the appearance of a false “Nero” in the area. Dio reports that Terentius Maximus, who claimed to be Nero, fled to the Parthians, while Suetonius recounts Parthian action on his behalf in 88.⁹⁵ This disturbance would explain transfers to the Syrian command.

The *Cohors I Augusta Thracum* was transferred to Arabia soon after its annexation in 106. A pre-Hadrianic tombstone found a decade ago at Kurnub in the Negev honors one Diogenes, *equus c(o)hortis I Augusta(e) T(h)racum*—by this time the unit had become a *cohors equitata*.⁹⁶ It later appears on inscriptions from Imtam⁹⁷ and from nearby Umm el-Qottein in the neighborhood of Bostra where the full title is given: *Coh(ors) I Aug(usta) Thr(acum) eq(uitata)*.⁹⁸ The unit remained in Arabia where it is attested at Qasr el-Hallabat under Caracalla and later at Asabaia in the fourth century.⁹⁹

The quingenary Thracian cohort must be distinguished from the milliary cohort serving in the same area. The Getty text and other recently published diplomas from Syria and Judaea help clarify the history of the Thracian milliary cohort. *Cohors I milliaria* is first attested in Syria in 88; the ethnic was understandably omitted from the title since no other milliary unit was then serving in Syria.¹⁰⁰ It again appears on a Syrian diploma

of 91, but by 124 the cohort had been transferred to Judaea where its centurion held a mortgage on a house across from the Roman camp.¹⁰¹ The *Cohors I Thracum milliaria* also appears on a Judaeen diploma of 139 (though by that time Hadrian had changed the province’s name to Syria Palestina) as well as on the fragmentary diploma of 186 found at Hebron and published in 1976.¹⁰² Thus the milliary Thracian cohort appears first in Syria, then in Judaea and finally at Aditha in Arabia in the late Empire.¹⁰³

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE GETTY DIPLOMA

Each newly discovered military diploma contributes to our understanding of the political, social, and military history of the Roman Empire. From the 80 texts known to Cheesman in 1914, Nesselhauf collected nearly 160 in *CIL XVI* (1936) and reached 189 in his Supplement of 1955. During the last twenty-four years almost eighty additional diplomas have been uncovered—largely in Eastern Europe where so many troops were stationed and where the pace of excavations has been increasing. These texts provide data on the deployment of auxiliary troops, the careers of Roman commanders, and the nomenclature and retirement patterns of the auxiliaries. Occasionally these texts will even cause revisions in standard political history, as when two new Roumanian diplomas have pushed the foundation of Dacia Porolissensis from 158 back to 123.¹⁰⁴

The Getty diploma has also made several contributions:

1) The consular *fasti* should be corrected to list the suffect consul of 88 as Manius Otacilius Catulus in place of Marcus Otacilius Catulus.

transferred to the Balkans. No eastern Thracian cohort has the honorific *c. R.* which is often found in Pannonia and elsewhere in the Balkans (*CIL XVI* 46; 57; 84; 96; 97; 104). Jarrett’s (*Ibid.* 219) suggestion that this unit came to Pannonia from the East seems unlikely; Mann *IEJ* 19 (1969) 211 sees no reason to connect this unit with the East.

92) Milliary: *CIL XVI* 35; 87; *AE* 1961 #319; *IEJ* 12 (1962) 259; Roxan *Military Diplomas* #69; *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. 37, 31.

Quingenary: *CIL XVI* 33; Getty text; *IEJ* 17 (1967) 52; *CIL III* 109–110; Littman-Magie-Stuart (n. 99 below) 21 #17; *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. 37, 32. For another reconstruction, cf. Roxan (n. 61 above) 65.

93) This obviously involves ignoring or rationalizing less important changes in the titlature of these units.

94) *CIL XVI* 33 which Nesselhauf considers milliary; Mann *op. cit.* 211 f. is more convincing.

95) Dio 66, 19; Suetonius *Nero* 57, 2. On Terentius Maximus, cf. Stein *RE V A* 666.

96) Negev *IEJ* 17 (1967) 52 pl. 9C; on date cf. Mann *op. cit.* 211 and Speidel *Latomus* 33 (1974) 937.

97) *CIL III* 109; *CIL III* 110 simply reads: *COH(ortis) T(hracum) AVG(usta)*.

98) *AE* 1928 #154.

99) Qasr el-Hallabat: Littman-Magie-Stuart *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909 III Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria* (Leyden, 1910) A, 2 p. 21 #17. Speidel *Latomus* 33 (1974) 938 suggested that this unit was milliary, but he now regards that as unlikely; cf. “The Roman Army in Arabia” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II* 8 Politische Geschichte 710–711.

Asabaia: *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. 37, 32.

100) *CIL XVI* 35; Jarrett *IEJ* 19 (1969) 221.

101) *AE* 1961 #319; Polotsky *IEJ* 12 (1962) 258 ff.

102) Lifshitz *Latomus* 35 (1976) 118 ff.; a superior text given by Roxan *Military Diplomas* #69.

103) Cf. n. 92 above.

104) Russu *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane* (Bucarest, 1975) I #11; #7a.

2) This correct reading of the consul's *praenomen* proves that Alföldi's Syrian diploma "found in the Danube near Nicopol in Bulgaria" is a forgery based on *CIL* XVI 35.

3) This diploma, taken together with *CIL* XVI 35, provides some additional evidence that Roman auxiliaries were administered through the legion to which they were attached for bureaucratic, as well as military, purposes.

4) A final point is of some interest. Four of the five *alae* listed in the Getty text appear later in Syria Palestina as do units from the other Syrian diploma of 88. Such a

task force is hardly surprising, since troops would have been gathered by Hadrian to put down the Bar Kokhba revolt. But there are also indications that units were being moved into Judaea as early as 105, presumably to prepare for the conquest of Arabia.¹⁰⁵ The Getty diploma adds some information on military assignments in Syria—information which can improve our understanding of the Roman military preparations in the face of Jewish nationalism, expansion into Arabia, and the growing Parthian threat.

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105) Pflaum *Syria* 44 (1967) 356.

A Painted Triptych from Roman Egypt¹

David L. Thompson

While the majority of panel paintings that survive from Roman Egypt are true "Fayum portraits," images intended for burial wrapped within the mummy cartonnage just prior to interment, a surprising number were meant also, or in some cases exclusively, for purposes on this side of the grave. These non-funerary or votive paintings are valuable, first, in documenting religious aspects of Roman daily life (complementing, in this respect, the more abundant material from Campania) and, second, in illustrating an incredible variety of minor divinities, some of whom even today cannot be precisely identified, venerated alongside the more traditional cult

figures in the far corners of the Empire. Finally, many of the paintings also show astonishing elements of form, function, and technique, less well documented elsewhere.

Nearly all the votive paintings thus far recovered fall into two categories: some were hung on the walls of private houses, installed most commonly in the so-called "Oxford frame" (Fig. 7) or in the similar frames discussed and illustrated by Ehlich;² others utilized an architectural framework, often an aedicula arrangement with the painting itself in tondo form, and must have been free-standing.³ Divinities appear in those paintings meant for domestic worship, and mortals in those associated with

1. Presented in preliminary form at the 78th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York, December 28, 1976; abstract: *Summaries of the Papers Presented: Seventy-Eighth General Meeting* (New York 1976) 19. The title of the original presentation ("Two Painted Triptychs . . .") has been doctored to reflect my growing uncertainty about the original function of the Berkeley panels. I am especially grateful to: Jiri Frel (J. Paul Getty Museum) for permission to publish the new triptych, for supplying photographs, and for providing assistance during my examination of the panels at the Museum; Frank A. Norick, Dave D. Herod, and Eugene R. Prince (Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley) for their similar assistance with the Berkeley paintings; the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for subsidizing a study trip to the west coast in April 1976 when all the panels were examined at firsthand; Ingrid E.M. Edlund (University of Texas) for reading the manuscript and offering many helpful suggestions.

2. W. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen im Altertum: Die Geschichte des Bilderrahmens* (Munich 1954; hereafter "Ehlich") esp. 69ff. Probably the most interesting painting recovered in its original frame is an example formerly in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, inv. 15978; lost in the war: Ehlich 81) showing Isis, Suchos/Soknebtunis and Harpocrates; see O. Rubensohn, "Aus griechisch-römischen Häusern des Fayum," *JDAI* 20 (1905) 1ff. (hereafter "Rubensohn") esp. 16ff., pl. 1. The painting was found in a private house at Tebtunis in a room that contained two other votive panels, the frames of which were not recovered: "Sie lagen am Boden an der Stelle, auf die sie von der Wand, an der sie gehangen, herabgefallen waren" (Rubensohn 16). A cord was still attached to one upper corner of framed example and nearby was found the round wooden peg from which the painting presumably had been hung on the

wall. Two other votive panels in original frames, of unspecified (but identical?) provenience, are in Brussels (here Fig. 7; Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. E7409; F. Cumont, "Un dieu supposé syrien, associé à Hérôn en Égypte," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* [Paris 1939] 1ff., pls. 1 [watercolor reconstruction] and 2 [hereafter "Cumont"]) and Providence (Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design, inv. 59.030; R. Winkes, "Mummy Portraits," *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design* 59 no. 4 [January 1973] 4ff., esp. 14f., fig. 6).

3. An example of the latter with its framework still preserved is in Cairo (Egyptian Museum, inv. C.G.33269; K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* [Wiesbaden 1966; hereafter "Parlasca"] 67f. no. 8, pl. 10 fig. 4). Two other tondo paintings from the Fayum lack frames. One, a dual portrait recovered by Gayet at Antinoopolis (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. C.G.33267; Parlasca 67 no. 7, 70f., pl. 19 fig. 1) probably originated as a domestic shrine painting, while the other, the well-known example in Berlin that shows the family of Septimius Severus (Staatliche Museen, inv. 31329; K. Neugebauer, "Die Familie des Septimius Severus," *Die Antike* 12 [1936] 155–172, pls. 10–11) was certainly an official commission for a public building. The basic idea of a tondo portrait goes back to the *imago clipeata* ancestor-portrait of the Roman Republic; see, most recently, R. Winkes, *Clipeata imago: Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform* (Bonn 1969) who, however, considers only the first example above as strictly adhering to the clipeate type. An apparently free-standing portrait of rectangular shape, in poor condition but with its frame partially preserved, is in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 31.8.2, from El Chargeh; Parlasca 67ff. no. 4, pl. 46 fig. 3).

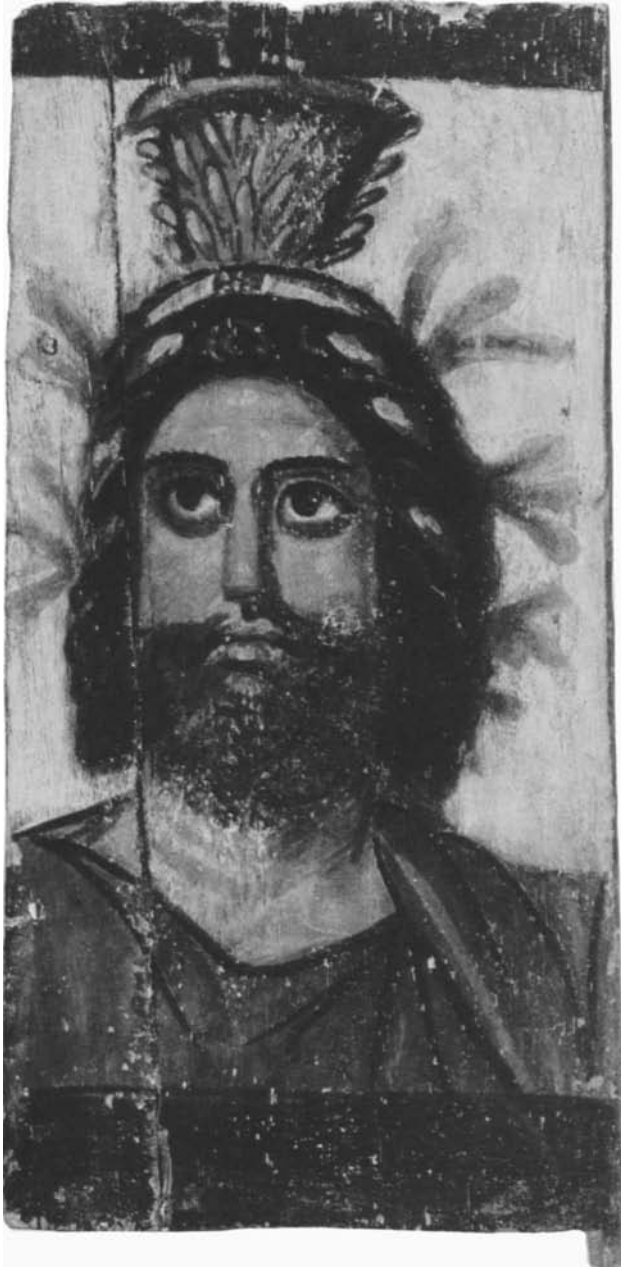


Figure 1. Serapis: left leaf of triptych. Tempera on wood. Malibu.

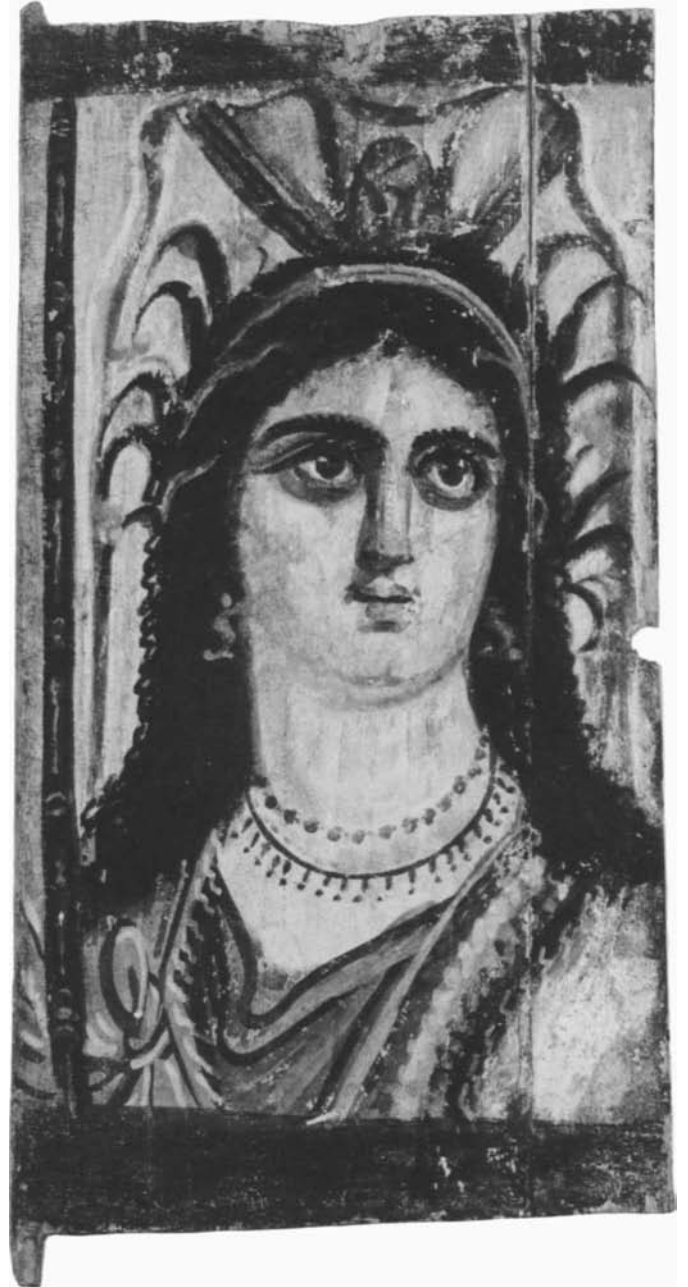


Figure 2. Isis: right leaf of triptych. Tempera on wood. Malibu.

Figure 3. Portrait of a bearded man: central panel of triptych. Tempera on wood. Malibu.

Figure 1A. Composite of Malibu triptych.

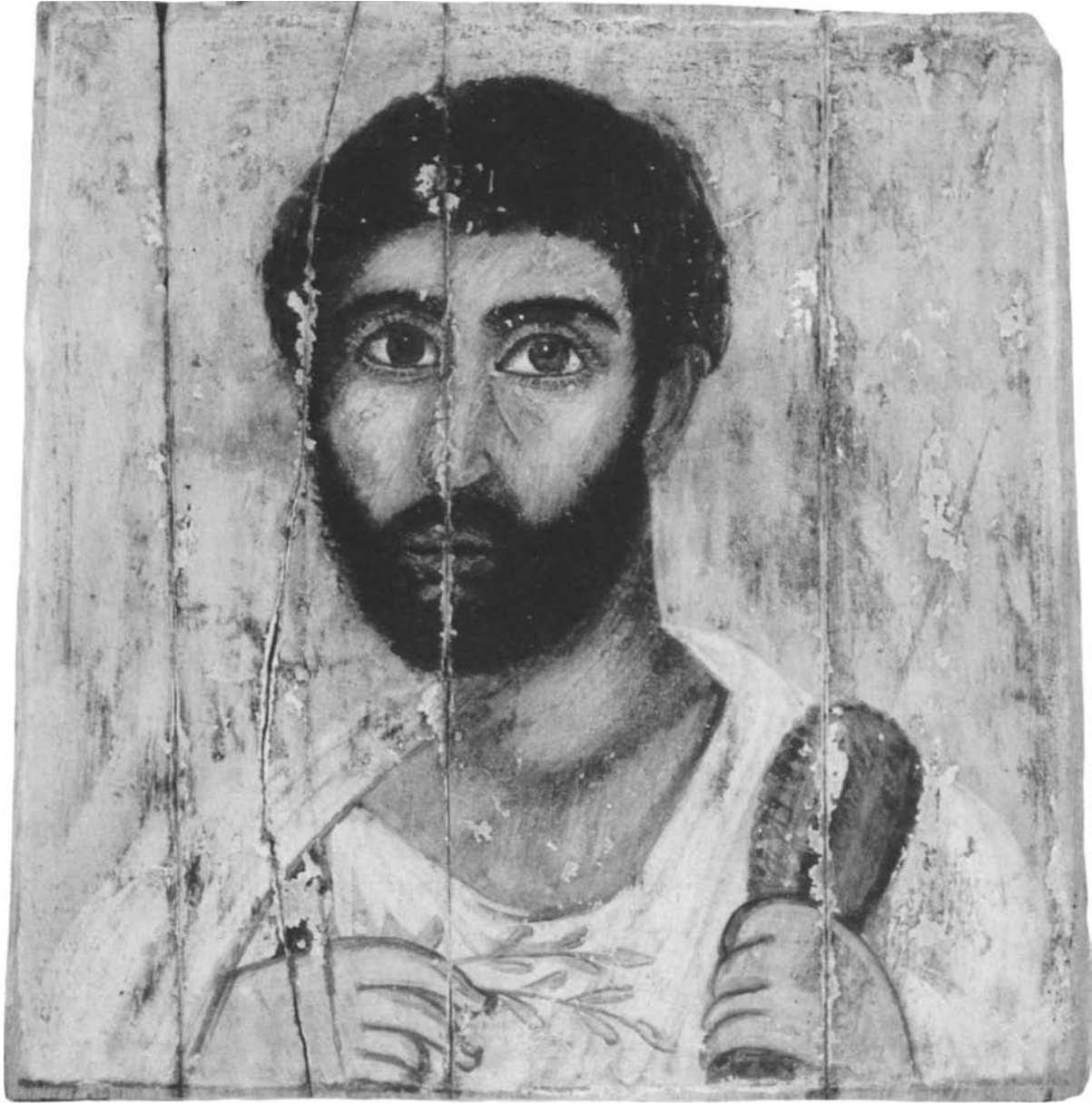




Figure 4. Portrait of a bearded man. Encaustic on wood. Dijon.

ancestor veneration. Although some paintings do originate in excavations of private houses,⁴ the superb preservation of many others of undocumented provenience suggests that they may have been recovered from tombs, possibly converted from domestic to funerary purpose.

A set of paintings recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, however, reveals a unique and especially interesting combination of the mortal and divine elements of cult practice in Roman Egypt. Moreover, in ensemble they bespeak a different type of painted votive object of far greater interest than the simple single panel.

The three paintings, purchased in 1974, originated together in a folding shrine, *Klappbild* or triptych. All three panels are painted in tempera and are remarkably well preserved. Although their exact provenience is not

known, their fine state of preservation certainly means that they come from the Fayum region. The side panels depict Serapis and Isis while the central panel is a portrait of a bearded man (Figs. 1–3).⁵ The central panel can be dated with some precision, based on a comparison of the subject to those seen in standard “Fayum portraits.” Specifically, the man in the Getty painting resembles in every respect (style of hair and beard, length to which subject is portrayed, presence of held objects—funerary wreath and laurel sprig—medium, and overall artistic style) the subjects of a large number of portraits that date from the middle of the third century A.D.; a good parallel is the bearded man shown in a portrait from Antinoopolis, now in Dijon (Fig. 4) that can be dated to the interval 225–250.⁶

Questions about the artistic unity of the three panels of the Getty ensemble might, however, be raised by an apparent discrepancy between the styles and levels of technical competence evident in the leaves and the central panel. Indeed, the Serapis and Isis appear at first much more confident and skillful renderings not only than the central portrait but than all other representations of these deities that survive in Roman-Egyptian painting. One might at first wonder whether the leaves and central panel of the Getty triptych were painted not by one artist but rather by two of very disparate skill.

Closer inspection, however, reveals that painterly details such as the brushwork and especially the palette employed are identical in all three panels; the distinctive use of a rich maroon for facial shading is a good example of the latter. Moreover, when examined closely, the apparent quality of the side panels is no more than superficial; a degree of technical competence is achieved, but the overall effect is lifeless and formal when compared to the exuberant originality of the central portrait. But although the central panel excels in spirit and the side leaves in execution, details confirm that all three were done by the same artist. The portrait must have been painted from life, the Serapis and Isis copied from existing sources, by an inventive and original portraitist

4. Supra n. 2. That both general types, wall-hung and free-standing, may often have complemented a larger scheme of interior votive decoration is suggested by the discovery of wall- and especially niche-paintings in private houses at several Fayum sites. See, for example, the second of two houses at Theadelphia described by Rubensohn (5ff.) as well as several that were excavated at Karanis (A.E.R. Boak and E.E. Peterson, *Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924–28* [Ann Arbor 1931] esp. 29ff.; pls. 24 figs. 47–48, 25 fig. 49, 36 fig. 71).

5. Inv 74.AL.21 (Serapis): composite panel (two joined planks); H.: 39 cm.; W.: 19 cm. Inv. 74.AL.22 (Isis): composite panel (two joined planks); H.: 40 cm.; W.: 19 cm. Inv. 74.AL.20 (portrait): composite panel (four joined planks, one of which has split); H.: 36 cm.; W.: 37.5 cm. All three appeared in *Recent Acquisitions: Ancient Art* (exh. catalog; Malibu 1974) nos. 23–25.

6. Musée de Dijon, inv. GA 3; Parlasca (131f.): “. . . Zeit des Alexander Severus. . .”



Figure 5. Soldiers' god (?): left leaf of triptych. Tempera on wood. Berkeley.

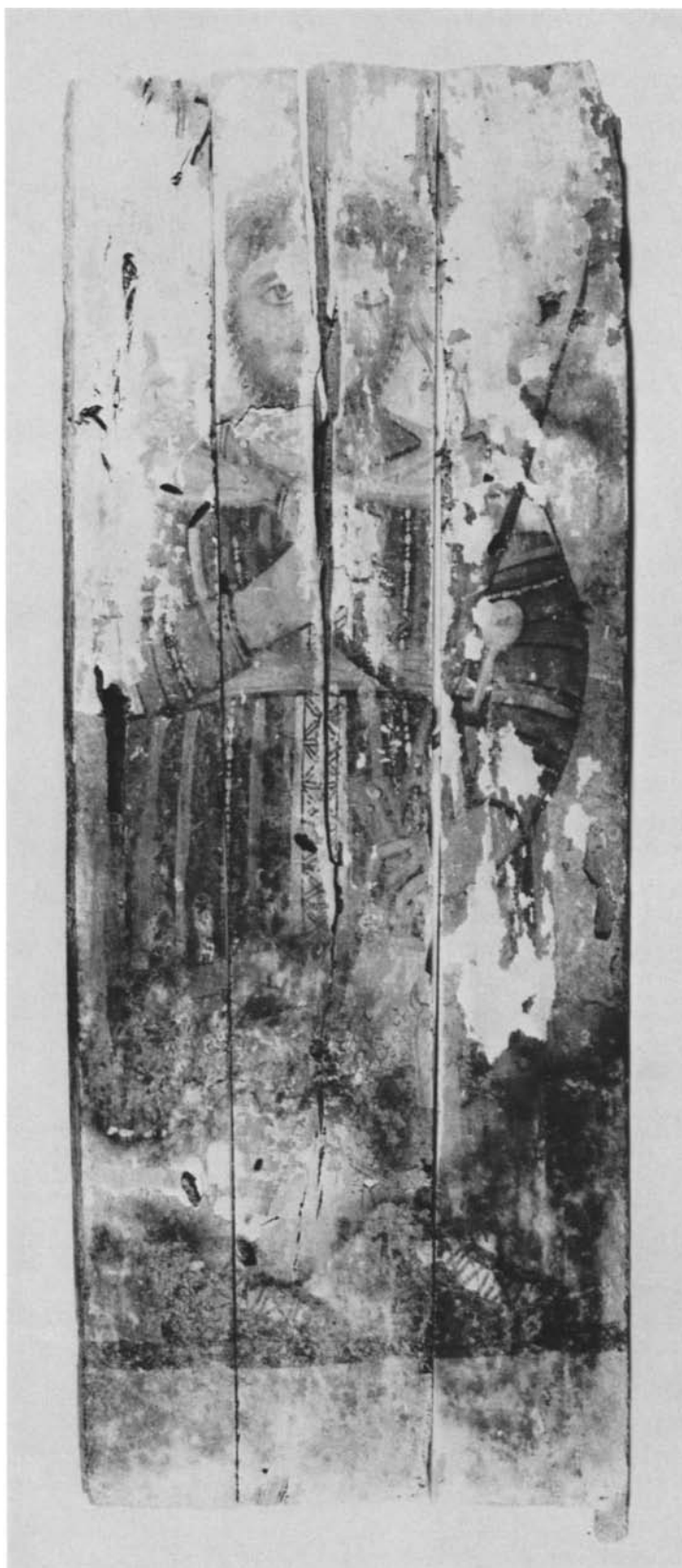


Figure 6. Soldiers' god (?): right leaf of triptych. Tempera on wood. Berkeley.

who, however, had received only minimal formal training in technical painterly skills beyond that of copybook reproduction. Jiří Frel has suggested that the side leaves reproduce well-known masterpieces of the time, which seems likely. The originals must have been very stunning indeed, and it is tempting to see these copies as reflections of one or a pair of important cult paintings installed in a major shrine of Roman Egypt, possibly even at Alexandria.

Although the superb condition of the panels may mean that they were recovered from a tomb, the original function of the triptych was probably domestic. Ancestor veneration flourished in Roman Egypt and painted ancestor portraits were sometimes displayed in private homes.⁷ The Getty triptych must have been free-standing, set up on or near a domestic altar or placed in a wall-niche. *Klappbilder* of similar form are well enough known in Roman and Campanian wall painting, especially of the Second Style where numerous examples are seen standing free, perched atop the cornices of architectural features that are represented.⁸ It should be noted, however, that while most Roman and Campanian examples are in fact displayed open, none of them shows anything more than innocuous decorative motifs on the leaves, and even examples of this type are very rare.⁹ Also, the central paintings of Italian triptychs are almost invariably bland genre scenes, devoid of religious or even commemorative implications. Thus the triptych in Roman Italy apparently served as a purely ornamental feature of interior design rather than, as in Roman Egypt, as a domestic cult object.

The precise physical placement or use of the Getty ensemble is uncertain because of the absence of the framework in which the three panels originally were mounted (although a small and tantalizing fragment may survive).¹⁰ Ehlich suggests several framing possibilities for *Klappbilder*, based on the examples seen in the Roman and Campanian wall-paintings (Fig. 8). His Type B or Type C could equally well have been the framework of

the Getty triptych, for while the central panel is bordered by a narrow unpainted strip originally covered by its frame, the side panels evidently were unframed and were set with pintle-hinges, one of which survives on each leaf, into sockets in the central frame. On the basis of the panels' dimensions, Ehlich's Type C is most likely.

Uncertainty also exists concerning the arrangement of the individual panels; specifically there is the very basic question of whether the painted sides of the leaves were visible with the *Klappbild* open—Serapis to the left of the central portrait, Isis to the right, as here illustrated—or whether the divinities were painted on the cover, visible only with the triptych closed—Isis on the left door, Serapis on the right. The latter was first proposed on the idea that the ensemble was a portable folding shrine. But the great extent of ancestor veneration accorded by Romans living in Egypt and the domestic and visually commemorative nature of this veneration argue against interpreting the Getty *Klappbild* as an object to be carried about from place to place. Moreover, while the small holes present on each panel near the unhinged edge possibly indicate a former locking or closing mechanism, the pintle-hinges that survive do not show sufficient wear to suggest that the leaves were opened and closed with any frequency. The *Klappbild* would have been transported once, from painter's shop or studio to private home, perhaps a second or third or even fourth time if the family changed residence, and maybe once more still if, as seems possible, it ultimately found its way into a tomb. Most of the time, however, it served as an object of the domestic cult and was displayed as an open triptych in the home. To have had Serapis and Isis on the fronts of the doors would have been pointless, since under normal circumstances they would have been hidden from view. Also, though it may simply be coincidence, it may possibly have been intended by the artist that if the deities do indeed flank the subject on the inside of the triptych and if these leaves are folded out perhaps 30 degrees at most, as the

7. Ibid. 64ff., "Probleme der Rahmung." W.M.F. Petrie believed that all "Fayum portraits" were framed and displayed in the home before being converted for burial (*The Hawara Portfolio: Paintings of the Roman Age* [London 1913] 5) but cf. Parlasca (66ff.) who, for example, numbers the "Fayum portrait" found by Petrie in a frame (London, British Museum, inv. 58; Ehlich 84ff., fig. 31f.) among "separate Totenporträts."

8. Ehlich (165ff.) lists and describes the triptychs shown on twenty-two walls; at least ten are Second Style.

9. Ibid. 169 nos. 18 and 22.

10. A large sliver of very similar wood (not illustrated) came with the paintings; it is not certain, however, that it actually belonged to the frame.

11. Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley. Both are composite panels: all three planks of one survive (inv. 6-21384; H.: 76.1 cm., including hinge; W.: 28 cm.), only one-and-one half of the other (inv. 6-21385; H.: 76.1 cm., including hinge; W.: 13.4 cm.). Unpublished. The plank-joins in each panel are

doors of Roman and Campanian *Klappbilder* are usually depicted, Serapis and Isis gaze directly at the observer.

The Getty triptych is relatively small—the central panel, for example, is nearly a square of 36 cm. on a side—and was therefore convenient for domestic installation. In the Lowie Museum at Berkeley are two panels very similar in form to the leaves of the Getty ensemble (Figs. 5–6).¹¹ They may originate in another triptych, but their considerably larger size—each is just over 75 cm. in height—may mean instead that they are shrine- or coffin-doors. These pintle-hinged panels also are painted in tempera but are less well preserved than the paintings of the Getty triptych. They were recovered by Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtunis (cemetery VII or VIII) in the season 1899–1900. On a stylistic basis they should be dated to around A.D. 300.

The individuals shown on the Berkeley panels almost certainly are divinities, though difficult to identify. Each figure is attired in splendid military dress, suggesting that they are soldiers' gods, but the attributes they carry are not well preserved. One of them at least, on the better preserved panel, carries a double axe on his right shoulder and holds a lance and scroll (military diploma?) in his left hand; the other figure appears to have been similarly or perhaps identically equipped. Such an axe is borne by the as-yet-unidentified deity garbed in similarly exotic martial apparel who appears jointly with Heron, the Thracian cavalier-god imported into Egypt in Ptolemaic times, as for example in a wall painting at Theadelphia¹² and the panel in Brussels mentioned above (Fig. 7). A reasonable but tentative suggestion identifies the figures of the Berkeley panels as these two, Heron and the anonymous companion deity.

The size of these leaves and the absence of a central panel might well mean that their original function was architectural; as mentioned, they could have been the painted doors of a shrine containing a relief or cult statue, or perhaps even the doors of a mummy coffin.¹³ These same possibilities have been suggested for the

accomplished by five dowels spaced ca. 16 cm. apart. The central plank of the complete door is badly split; severe termite-like damage, which characterizes the true mummy portraits from Tebtunis that also are in the Lowie Museum, is present. Loss of paint is extensive on both panels.

12. Cumont pl. 3.

13. E.g. Parlasca pl. 1 fig. 1; examples of these that survive with their coffins are, however, undecorated.



Figure 7. Votive painting in "Oxford" frame showing Heron (right) and unidentified soldiers' god. Tempera on wood. Brussels.

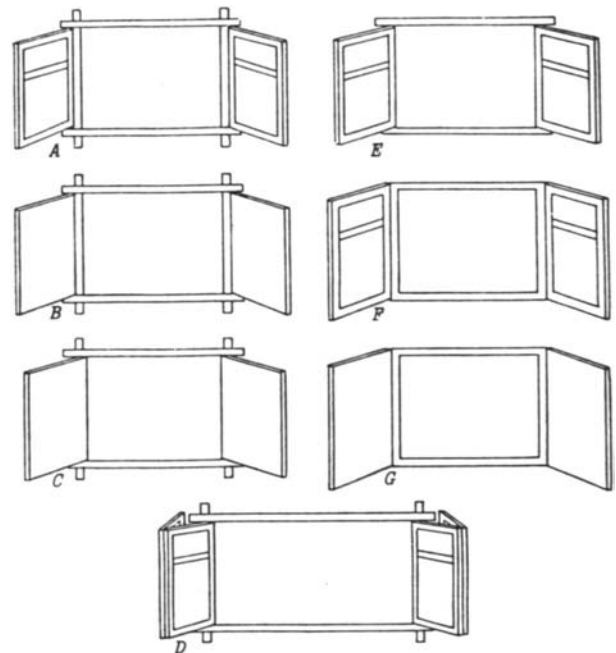


Figure 8. Typical arrangement of Roman *Klappbilder*. After Ehlich 177 fig. 49.

origin of yet another pair of painted doors, dating from the early or middle fourth century, that were formerly in Berlin but have not reappeared since the last war.¹⁴ Each shows four figures, in two registers, who probably are deities. Each leaf is fairly large, about the same width as the Berkeley doors but somewhat shorter. They, too, lack a central panel.

One might even be tempted to think that the Berkeley and lost Berlin leaves were diptychs, complete in their two surviving panels, on the analogy of the examples produced some centuries later especially in ivory. But these latter were patently intended to be portable and were therefore much smaller. A three-part wooden stele from Thebes of about 400 B.C., formerly in Berlin,¹⁵ and probably also the much earlier relief from Tell-el-Amarna, dating from the fourteenth century B.C. that shows Ichnaton and his family, and which once had folding wooden doors,¹⁶ demonstrate the architectural conception of the first triptych form. But the origin of the two-panel folding picture is to be sought in a small portable object, the folding writing tablet; thus large diptychs should not be expected. Moreover, *Klappbilder* of two panels never were a significant product of Roman design until late antiquity, even though wall-paintings indicate the triptych idea had been endemic in Roman art since at least the mid-first century B.C.

It is just possible, though, that the Berkeley paintings do represent two-thirds of another three-panel *Klappbild*. There is no evidence, even on the door that survives in

all three of its composed planks, for the locking or closing hardware expected on shrine- or coffin- doors. That they could be closed is evident from the beveled edge of the better preserved one—the other must have been beveled in reverse so that one would close before the other—but the lack of a securing mechanism may mean that they were intended to be displayed open. The central panel of this hypothetical triptych could have been a relief, like the Ichnaton example mentioned above, or equally well the painted portrait of a deceased mortal. Although large-scale “Fayum portraits” exist only on shrouds, two wooden panels of the non-mummy variety are of good size: one in Vienna measures 58 cm. in height, another in Copenhagen about 65 cm.¹⁷ Still larger ones must have existed, and something like this could be suggested as the missing third of a triptych whose leaves alone have survived.

But whether or not the Berkeley panels bespeak a triptych, the Getty paintings certainly do. In fact, they comprise the earliest painted triptych in Western art of which all three panels survive. This ensemble reflects architectural and religious concepts derived from ancient Egyptian art and an ornamental concept already established for at least three centuries in the art and design of Roman Italy. And though the specifics of such a possible connection remain to be studied, one must observe that the *Klappbild* of ancient Roman art prefigures the sort of object that would ultimately emerge as the painted Christian altarpiece of the late Middle Ages.

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14. Staatliche Museen, inv. 17957 (both). R. Pagenstecher, “Klapp-
tafelbild, Votivtriptychon und Flügelaltar,” *AA* 34 (1919) 9ff.; E.
Budde, *Armerium und Kiposos: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des antiken*
Mobiliars (Würzburg 1940) 39; Ehlich 174.

15. Staatliche Museen, inv. 821; Ehlich 116ff., figs. 109 and 112.

16. Ibid. 163ff., fig. 123.

17. Parlasca 66ff. (“Grossformatige Bilder als separate Totenporträts”);
Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung, inv. G.807
(ibid. 67 no. 2, pl. 38 fig. 1); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek,
inv. 686/687 (two fragments “nicht anpassende,” according to Parlasca:
ibid. 67 no. 5, pl. 22 fig. 3).

NOTES

Kore in Malibu

Ernst Langlotz +

I

Zu dem Korenköpfchen (Figs. 1–6), welches ich seit einem halben Jahrhundert wohl kenne, werden hier einige stilistische Parallelen gegeben, die natürlich nicht alle aus der gleichen Zeit stammen, sondern die Entwicklung dieses Kunstkreises wieder spiegeln. Nur vermutungsweise könnte man sich vorstellen, dass es in Chios war. Denn die Marmorplastik war eine der berühmtesten im 6. Jh. Aber was bisher gefunden worden ist, ist einerseits controvers, andererseits nicht von hoher Qualität und vor allem an Koren haben wir nur den Unterteil einer kleinen und dann zwei grosse Fragmente, die schwer zu beurteilen sind (vgl. AMA p. 35–7 und zuletzt J. Boardman AP 1 (1962) 43 ff., pl 38 ff.).

Wie dem auch immer sei, so glaube ich doch, dass als stilistisch dem Köpfchen verwandt genannt werden dürfen:

Charitenrelief Akro. 702 (nach dem kleinen in den Reigen gezogenen Weihenden sicher ostgriechisch) (Fig. 7; Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (1950) pl. 128; AMA 20).

Korenköpfchen in Bonn (Fig. 8; P. Arndt, EA 4220).

Akrokore 666 (Fig. 9; Payne, pl. 49; AMA 15).

Ny Carlsberg bärtiger Hermenkopf no. 1 (Figs. 10–11; F. Poulsen, EA 3754–5).

Vielleicht die Kore Akro. 675 (möglicherweise gehört die Signatur eines Chioten dazu, wenn die zugewiesenen Füße sicher sind und wenn diese auf die Basis gehören. (Payne 34, cf. pl. 49–50; AMA 43)

Siphniorkore Delphi um 530/25.

Nike Akro. 693 (Payne 62, pl. 120; AMA 68) um 520.

Aber das sind alles nur Attributionen. Der Marmor in Chios scheint in der Antike verbraucht worden zu sein. Jedenfalls hat man keinen in einem Steinbruch mehr gefunden. Auch die Bestimmung der anderen Marmorsorten liegt noch im argen.

II

The small head (76.AA.6) from the last decade of the sixth century B.C. was purchased from a private collection in Germany. It is said to have been found on the Acropolis, and the burnt traces on its left side may indeed be the result of the fire of 480 B.C. From the parallels quoted by E. Langlotz above, the votive relief Akro. 702. seems to be by the same hand, while the small kore Akro. 666 may be close. The Hermes head in Copenhagen is perhaps also close.

The attribution of the whole group to a local workshop is more difficult to establish. The School of Chios, renowned in antiquity, is hard to trace in minor works, as is well reflected in the evolution of Langlotz's views (*Bildhauerschulen* (1927), pp. 137–9; AMA (1939) p. 37; *Studien zur Nordgriechischen Kunst* (1974) pp. 168 ff.). The fragments from Chios, the Nike from Delos by Archermos, the Kore Akro. 575, and the Nike Akro. 693 associated with Archermos' son may represent the highlight of Chiote sculpture (cf. the summary of the question by A.E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (1949) p. 484–7). While the pieces grouped around the Malibu head do not transcend the level of a competent artisan, this may be one reason why the different stylistic elements and influences between Chios and Attica are at the same time evident and elusive.

J.F.



Figures 1-6. Korenköpfchen. Malibu.



Figure 7. Charitenrelief. Akro. 702. Photo: Langlotz.



Figure 8. Korenköpfchen. Bonn.



Figures 10-11. Bärtiger Hermenkopf. Copenhagen.

Figure 9. Akrokore 666.

Die Tierkampfgruppe auf dem Karneol-Skarabäus im Getty Museum

Peter Zazoff

Bei meinem Besuch des Getty Museums in Malibu, Kalifornien, sah ich einen kostbaren Halsschmuck, den Fachleute gerade dabei waren zu restaurieren, damit er ausgestellt werden kann: eine Kette aus Gold und Bernsteinelementen und einem als Hauptstück gedachten Karneol-Skarabäus in eigener Goldfassung. Das Museum hat den Schmuck kürzlich als Geschenk von Herrn Gordon McLendon erhalten.¹

Die Kette besteht aus 22 Goldgliedern in der Form kleiner Vögel, pilzartiger Gebilde und dazwischen länglichen Goldröhrchen, gemischt mit 13 kugeligen Bernstein.² Der Skarabäus befindet sich in einer Goldfassung, die die Skarabäusbasis und die Beinzone des Käfers verdeckt. Größe der Fassung: 1,67 x 1,15 x 0,68 cm. Sie besteht aus weichem, hochkarätigem Goldblech, das mit Filigran vierziert ist: drei Reihen von Doppel- und Filigrandraht auf der senkrechten Basisseite, für den oberen und unteren Rand ist ein kräftigerer Draht genommen, und den Ausgang des Bohrkanals umsäumt jeweils ein ebensolcher Kreis. Das obere Blech endet über den Umfassungsdraht hinaus in eine in Dreiecke zinnenartig ausgeschnittene Borte, die kräftig granuliert ist: größere Kügelchen sind nach dem System 4.3.2.1 aufeinander getürmt. Die genannten Dreiecke dienen zur Befestigung der Fassung, indem sie nach dem Skara-

bäusrücken hin umgebogen sind. Der auf der Bildseite als Umrahmung wirkende Einfassungsdraht ragt über die Bildfläche hinaus. Das Siegeln mit dem Skarabäus ist damit praktisch unmöglich. Der Bohrkanal, durch die Länge des Käfers verlaufend, dient normalerweise zum Aufnehmen des beweglichen Skarabäusbügels aus Metall, hier hingegen zum Durchziehen des Kettenfadens.

Der Skarabäus, dessen Maße 1,45 x 1,07 x 0,66 cm betragen, besteht aus unreinem, von Chalcedon gelblich durchsetztem Karneol mit auf dem Thorax sichtbaren länglichen dunklen Flecken. Der Erhaltungszustand ist bis auf einem Sprung entlang des Bohrkanals und ein kleines abgebrochenes Stück am Kopf ausgezeichnet. Vielleicht war er schon während der Antike mit dem Sprung eingefast worden. Bildseite und Käferrücken sind nur matt poliert.

Der Skarabäusrücken ist im ganzen grob geschnitten, mit scharfen Untergrabungen unter dem Käferkörper, und der Kopf ist mit einigen Kerben flüchtig angegeben, auch sind die Käferbeine ungenau als Striche ausgeführt. Der Thorax ist uneben, buckelig gestaltet, die zwei Trennlinien zum Kopf sind ungenau und nicht ganz durchgezogen. Wichtig ist die Beobachtung, daß die Elytrenntrennung stark konvex als Grat ausgearbeitet

1) Für die Gastfreundschaft in Malibu, für Hilfe, Auskunft und Publikationserlaubnis bin ich Herrn Prof. J. Frel sehr zu Dank verpflichtet. Es werden folgende Abkürzungen gebraucht: Boardman, GGF = J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings. Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (1970); Boardman, AGG = J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* (1968); Fossing = P.M.A. Fossing, *Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos, The Thorvaldsen Museum* (1929); Furtwängler, AG = A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (1900); Marshall, *Jewellery* = F.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (1911); Richter = G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1956); Walters = M.B. Walters, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum* (1926). Zazoff, *Skarabäen* = P. Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen* (1968).

2) Sie soll nach der Restaurierung gesondert publiziert werden, der Skarabäus konnte getrennt von ihr studiert werden. Skarabäen als Glieder einer Kette sind sehr selten, aus dem griechischen Bereich sind mir keine bekannt. Innerhalb einer Halskette angebracht ist der etruskisch-archaische Karneol-Skarabäus in Kopenhagen, Nat. Mus.,

Zazoff, *Skarabäen* 26 Taf. 9, 28; in einer Bernsteinkette aufgezogen war bei dem Fund in Spina, Grab 560, der Bandachat in Ferrara ebenda 30 Taf. 11, 32; die bekannten großen Kollier enthalten a globolo-Skarabäen: das Kollier Canino im Brit. Mus. besteht aus 21 Karneol-Skarabäen, s. Zazoff *Skarabäen* 137 Taf. 53, 286, 287, 288. Marshall, *Jewellery* 258 Taf. 46, 2273. Walters 96 Nr. 796 Abb. 42. R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (1961) 152 Anm. 3. Das zweite bekannte Kollier im Louvre besteht aus 23 Karneol-Skarabäen, s. Daramberg-Saglio II (1896) 1484 Abb. 3539. J. Martha, *L'Art Etrusque* (1889) Taf. 1, 4. Einen Bernstein in der Form eines Skarabäus und zugleich Glied einer Kette s. Marshall, *Jewellery* Taf. 22, 1468. Bernstein in der Zeit des orientalisierenden Stils s. ebenda S. LVII, vgl. auch Higgins a.O. 37. Halsschmuck mit auf Schnur gereihten Gliedern, darunter auch Goldröhrchen s. A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall* (1975) 21 Taf. 12, insb. 5—allerdings hellenistisch.

3) Diese Beobachtung machte schon Furtwängler, AG III 9 u. 114, der sogar von einer "Vernachlässigung" sprach, vgl. auch Boardman, AGG 13.

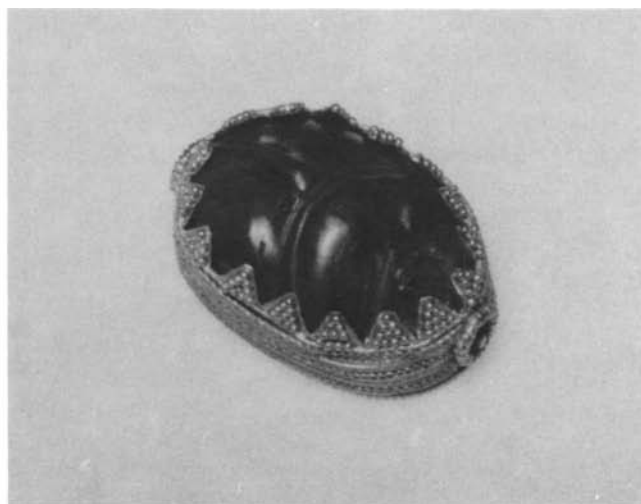
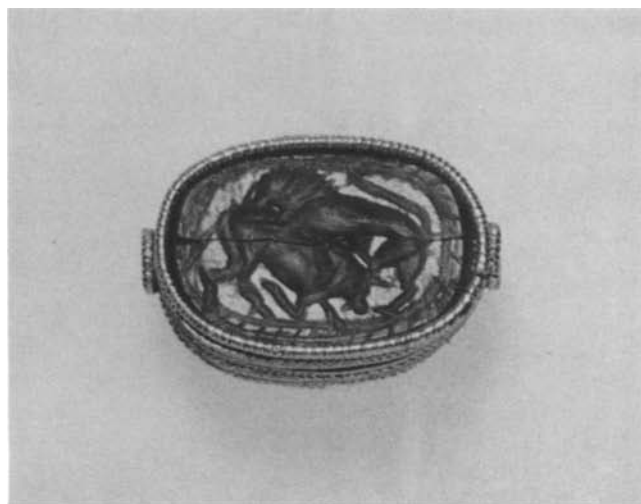


Abb. 1-2. Karneol-Skarabäus mit Tierkampfgruppe. Malibu.

ist, also "carinater". Ein von Strichen umrandetes, tief ausgeschnittenes Dreieck ist rechts im Winkel zwischen der Naht und dem Thorax, ein anderes seitlich links auf dem Thorax selbst zu sehen. Nach Herausnehmen der Einfassung konnte festgestellt werden, daß die Basis schmal und glatt ist, der Skarabäus also keinen Basisschmuck trägt.

Die Bildseite wird von einem unsauber ausgeführten Strichrand umsäumt, dem sog. orlo etrusco. In Flachintaglio ist auf dem Bild die Löwe-Stiergruppe in Seitenansicht dargestellt. Der Stier bricht zusammen. Deutlich demonstriert ist das geknickte Bein, so daß sich das fallende Tier aufs Knie stützt. Die dicke und faltige Nackenhaut ist ausgeführt, das Horn angegeben. Der Löwe ist von vorne über den Kopf seines Opfers gesprungen und beißt sich in seiner Kruppe fest. Der Löwenkopf ist etwas seitlich gedreht, in 3/4-Ansicht, so daß man die beiden Augen sehen kann. Der Stierkopf hingegen ist im Profil und nach unten gewendet, der Löwe krallt sich mit der einen erhobenen Tatze an ihm fest und drückt ihn herunter. Das Bildfeld über

dem Boden füllen die Extremitäten der Tiere aus, das freie Feld oben wird vom Löwenschwanz besetzt, der weit zurück über den Rücken des Tieres geführt wird. Die Löwenmähne, stets ein Hauptbestandteil des Bildschemas, ist nicht wie oft stilisiert, sondern zwar grob aber in naturalistisch wirkender Weise wiedergegeben.

Für die Zeit- und Ortsbestimmung gibt die Ausführung des Skarabäuskörpers einen Anhalt. Seine Merkmale weisen ihn als griechische Arbeit aus: im ganzen großzügig gearbeitet³, ohne Basisschmuck⁴, ein Grat als Elytrenntrennung⁵, Untergrabung und buckelige Ausführung des Käferkörpers⁶, matte Politur⁷. Es gibt zwar phönikisch-griechische Skarabäen, deren Äußeres ähnlich gestaltet ist, die Bilder zeigen dann aber entweder das Rind auf allen vier Beinen stehend⁸, oder in der Kombination mit zwei Raubtieren, die das Rind zerfleischen⁹. Die Vergleichsbeispiele etruskischer Skarabäen haben einen anderen Habitus, der Skarabäusrücken ist dann anders geschnitten und mitunter auch mit einem Basisschmuck ausgestattet¹⁰.

4) Auch diese Faustregel geht auf Furtwängler, AG zurück, s. S. 90, 92, 93 f. 176 ff., vgl. Zazoff, *Skarabäen* 3 f. Die von Boardman, AGG 174 erwähnten Ausnahmen griechischer Exemplare mit Basisschmuck meinen mit "hatched vertical border" eine feine Strichelung, die sich bei einigen umstrittenen Exemplaren (meist Pseudoskarabäen) oderhalb der glatten Basis befindet.

5) Gut fixiert ist diese Beobachtung als Besonderheit der archaischen Skarabäen bei Boardman, AGG 14 f. Abb. 1 u. GGF 140 f. Typische Beispiele für die Übernahme vom Phönikischen sind der Onyx-Skarabäus in Boston ebenda 23 Taf. 1, 24, dann der Karneol-Skarabäus in Philadelphia, ebenda Nr. 27 u. der Karneol-Skarabäus in Nicosia ebenda Taf. 1, 30. Diese Einzelheit ist gut demonstrierbar ebenda Taf. 40 durch die Nummern 84, 93, 538, vgl. auch Boardman, GGF 139 ff.

6) "often humped in profile view" heißt es bei Boardman, AGG 14. Die Aushöhlung der Skarabäen ist ebenda Abb. 1 richtig gezeichnet, verkehrt hingegen bei der Wiedergabe der etruskischen Form.

7) Im griechischen Bereich kann natürlich von Raffinessen der Ober-

flächen politur der Skarabäen—wie diese Zazoff, *Skarabäen* 118 ff. für die etruskischen a globolo-Skarabäen schildert—nicht die Rede sein, aber auch in der archaischen Zeit wurde in Etrurien die Politur angewendet. Der ebenso gute wie umstrittene Skarabäus in Cambridge mit der Tierkampfgruppe (eines anderen Schemas) hat einen hochglänzend polierten Rücken, er ist etruskisch, wird aber verschieden eingeordnet, s. Boardman, AGG 124 Taf. 27, 371 u. Zazoff, *Skarabäen* 3 Taf. 2, 2. Die griechisch-archaischen Skarabäen werden in der Regel dezent, höchstens matt poliert.

8) Vgl. Karneol-Skarabäus in Kopenhagen, Thorwaldsen Museum, Fossing 29 Taf. 1, 3; Chalcedon Skarabäus in New York, Richter Taf. 4, 20; Skarabäus in Wien, Furtwängler, AG Taf. 7, 25.

9) Diese Beispiele s. Boardman, AGG 122 Nr. 365–368 Taf. 27 u. Abb. S. 155

10) Vgl. Karneol-Skarabäen in Kopenhagen, Nat. Mus. und in Rom, Villa Giulia, Zazoff, *Skarabäen* 4 ff. Taf. 1, 3 u. Taf. 2, 4: der erste mit Strichelung der Basis, der zweite mit glatter, glänzender Politur, auch der Tierkörper, beide Skarabäenrücken nicht "carinated".

Für die Datierung des Skarabäus in Malibu bietet sich der Vergleich mit den griechischen Beispielen des gleichen Themas und Schemas an, die J. Boardman gesammelt und in das letzte Drittel des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. datiert hat¹¹.

Wie sehr der Tierkampf ein Hauptthema der Kunst der archaischen Zeit war, ist zur genüge betont worden¹². Da er seinen Ursprung im Orient hatte und infolge seiner Beliebtheit auch dort sehr verbreitet war, ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß er in den angrenzenden Gebieten des Mittelmeerraumes übernommen wurde und neben anderen Kunstzweigen auch phönikische, griechische und etruskische Skarabäen oft Tierkampfbilder zum Thema haben. Beim Malibu-Exemplar ist die sonst seltene Erhaltung der ganzen Kette insofern von Belang als somit die zentrale Rolle des Skarabäus und seines Bildes noch mehr hervorgehoben wird, auch wenn man der Möglichkeit des Zusammenkommens von Kette und Skarabäus zu verschiedener Zeit einen Spielraum läßt. Bild

und Gemme müssen für den Besitzer, der den Skarabäus sowohl als Schmuck wie auch als Amulett trug¹³, einen besonderen Sinngehalt gehabt haben, nach dem sich auch der heutige Betrachter fragen muß. Wie es für Grabmonumente mit diesem Bild und insbesondere für die bekannte Basis aus Loryma aus dem Ende des 6. Jhs. nachgewiesen wurde¹⁴, kann es sich auch beim Malibu-Skarabäus nicht nur um ein bloß "dekoratives" Bild handeln. Der Löwe ist hervorgehoben, und er soll ähnlich wie dort den Bereich des Toten, so hier den Amulettträger schützen. Das Tier ist mächtig, und nicht einmal der Stier kann sich gegen ihn wehren. Das "Apotropäische" ist somit in eine einfache Formel gebracht, und der so verstandene Bildgedanke war nicht nur auf kleinasiatischem Boden verbreitet, sondern in der gleichen Zeit des ausgehenden 6. Jhs. auch auf dem griechischen Festland¹⁵.

Archäologisches Seminar
Universität Hamburg

11) Boardman, AGG 126 f. "Scheme c" Nr. 392–394, insb. 396. Die Datierung s. ebenda S. 127.

12) Boardman, AGG 121 ff. 123 u. Anm. 12. Zazoff, *Skarabäen* 5 f. Anm. 31. "Der Tierkampf zählt zu den am weitesten verbreiteten Motiven der griechischen Kunst"—F. Hölscher, *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfbilder* (1972) 7.

13) Die ursprüngliche Verwendung der Skarabäen als Siegel erweist sich durch die Metallbügelkonstruktionen, aber sie wird auch ad ab-

surdum geführt, s. Zazoff, *Skarabäen* 139 und die Beispiele auf Taf. 54, 294 u. 295, vgl. Boardman, AGG 13 ff. u. GGF 139 ff.

14) s. F. Hölscher, *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfbilder* (1972) 21 ff. Zur Basis aus Loryma in Smyrna s. Shear, *AJA* 18, 1914, 285 ff. Taf. 3, 4. W. Hahland, *Jdl* 79, 1964, 219 u. 227 Abb. 99 f. Hölscher a.O. Taf. 2.

15) S. Hölscher a.O. 22.

An Alabaster Scent Bottle in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Sandra Knudsen Morgan

An alabaster scent bottle has recently been presented to the J. Paul Getty Museum in memory of Jean Garrett (Figs. 1–2).¹ It is carved in one piece with a rounded bottom and is shaped on the upper front in the form of the torso, head, and arms of a woman, with the flaring mouth of the flask on top of her head. The white alabaster is covered with a yellowish patina with some incrustation. The right side and part of the back are severely damaged, the right ear and cheek missing. The lip of the flask was broken and repaired in one place.

The total height of the flask is 23.2 cm.; the greatest width of the body of the bottle is 4.5 cm.; the diameter of the rim is 3.5 cm. The narrow tube drilled into the interior extends almost the entire length of the alabastron. The height of the carved area is 11.3 cm., of the face alone, 1.9 cm. Only the front of the woman is depicted and at elbow level she merges into the body of the alabastron. She wears a full wig or, more likely, a symmetrical veil which dips to a slight point at the center of her forehead and extends to fall over her shoulders, creating a smooth line down the upper arms. The ears are lightly indicated in front of the veil. The left arm is held stiffly at her side, the hand clenched with the thumb extended. The empty right hand is held clenched to her breast. Around her neck is a necklace of eleven beads with a large central pendant.

The left side of her face is incrustated, obscuring the eye and cheek. The facial features are heavy but softly and delicately suggested, except for the bulbous tip of the nose. The long, oblique eyes are sharply cut above the surface with raised pupils,

the eyebrows echoing the upper lids. The tiny bow mouth is more sour than coquettish in expression above the pointed chin.

Similar vases from the middle of the sixth century are known both in alabaster and in terracotta. The particular form of an elongated alabastron with the head and torso of a woman seems to have made its first appearance in the Eastern Mediterranean in the seventh century B.C.² This wide distribution argues for a variety of workshop locations. In 1956 P.J. Riis suggested dividing twenty-two examples into an Eastern A group and a Western B group. All of the B group were found on Etruscan sites, while the A group, which shows much less variation, was assembled from sites as far flung as Gordion, Vulci, Kameiros, Caere, and Naukratis.³

The closest alabaster comparison to the Getty piece seems to be British Museum B 464, excavated at Naukratis in 1886 in the Temenos of Aphrodite (Fig. 3).⁴ The rendition is generally heavier and the right hand grasps the necklace. It is dated by Pryce to the second quarter of the sixth century, but Riis suggests comparison with Neo-Cypriote sculptures of the third quarter of the century.⁵

Additional close parallels in terracotta exist in the British Museum: 61.10–24.7, excavated at Kameiros on Rhodes (Fig. 4)⁶ and 52.1–12.6, find spot unknown, perhaps from Etruria (Fig. 5).⁷ Both, however, hold birds against their breasts with the right hand, while the alabaster examples most frequently hold a flower.⁸ Many details on the terracotta examples are more distinct than on the alabaster versions, probably because of the greater

1. Acc. no. 78.AA.306, anonymous donation; Christie's (November 17, 1977) no. 373, pl. 7; J. Frel, *Checklist* (1979) "Greek Original Sculpture," no. 3. I wish to thank Dr. Frel for permission to publish the alabastron.

2. P.J. Riis, "Sculptured Alabastra," *Acta Archaeologica* 27 (1956) 23–33.

3. See also S. Haynes, "An Etruscan Alabastron," *Antike Kunst* (1961–63) 3–5 for the suggestion that two of Riis' B group found at Vulci may actually have been made in the East and J. Ducat, *Les Vases Plastiques Rhodiens Archaiques en Terre Cuite* (Paris, 1966) *passim*.

4. Riis, no. A7; F.N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, I:1 (London, The British Museum, 1928) 197, fig. 239; E.A. Gardner, *Naukratis* part 2 (London, 1888) vol. 6, pl. 14, no. 11.

5. Riis, p. 25; but see E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV.2 (1948) especially pl. 8.2 as below.

6. R.A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas, I: Greek 730–330 B.C.* (London, The British Museum, 1954) no. 47, pl. 9. Cf. also Rhodes 13661 from Kameiros (*Clara Rhodos* 6–7 (1932–33) 153, fig. 182; also Ducat, pp. 74, 87 and dated by early Corinthian pottery from the same inhumation grave of a child by him to 570–560. It is much softer and more elegant than the British Museum terracottas and more like alabaster example B 329 (Pryce, p. 158) from Kameiros. Ducat places it in his "Rhodian" rather than "Cypriote" group.

7. *Ibid.*, no. 48, pl. 9.

8. Terracotta examples have been found farther afield (cf. Ducat, "Serie Chypriote," 72–74, though he states that the fabric and technique

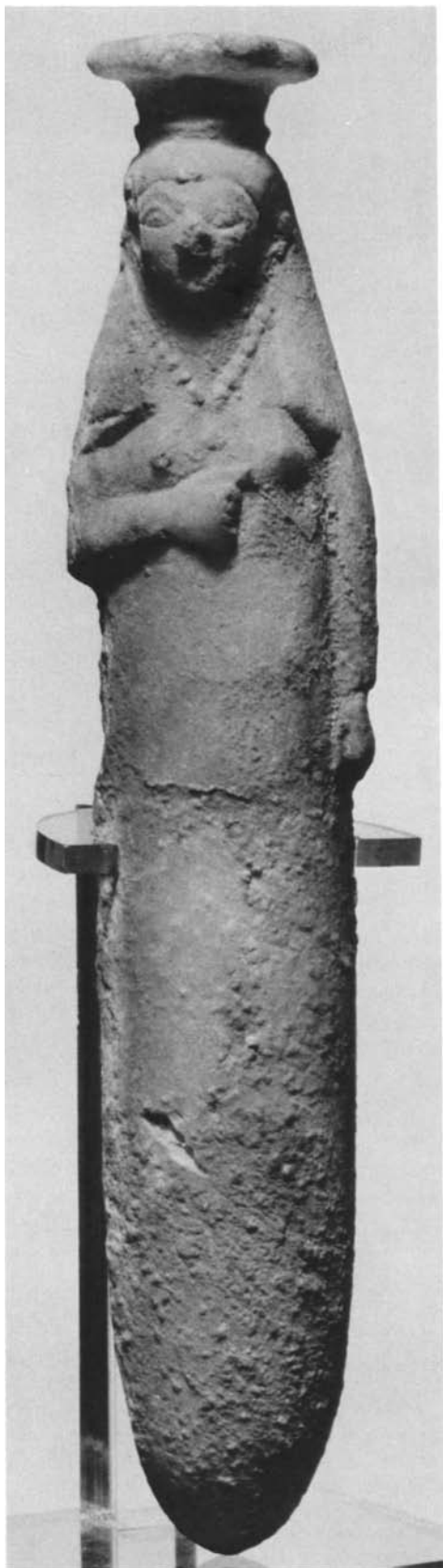


Figure 1. Alabastron. Malibu.



Figure 2. Profile of Fig. 1.



Figure 3. Alabastron from Naukratis B464. London, British Museum. Photo: Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4. Terracotta alabastron from Kamairos. London, British Museum. Photo: Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 5. Terracotta alabastron. London, British Museum. Photo: Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

plasticity of the material. These terracotta examples are the same size as the stone alabastrons, but to judge from a certain unfinished quality of arms and features are imitations of the stone originals.⁹

Riis concludes that the A series was the work of Cypriotes in the Egyptian Delta from the late seventh century through about 525 B.C., the period between the foundation of Naukratis

and the Persian conquest of Egypt, and were traded all around the Mediterranean.¹⁰ Since the colony at Naukratis included quarters for many Greek cities, this insistence on Cypriote craftsmanship is perhaps too limiting, as will be indicated below. Naukratite manufacture seems strongly possible, since the stylistic similarities of the A group extend to a variety of find spots, but suggestions of specifically Rhodian¹¹ or Cypriote¹² artisans

are uniformly Rhodian.) Gela (*Mon. Ant.* 17, p. 265, fig. 201); Orvieto (AZ 35 (1877) pl. XI,2); Perachora (*Perachora I*, pl. 112, no. 276 fragment); "Etruria" (Louvre S1072, *Pottier Vases Antiques du Louvre I*, pl. 35); Corinth (Munich 5224, M.I. Maximova, *Les Vases Plastiques dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1927) II, no. 63.

9. Riis, pl. 32, nos. A4, 7, 9, and 10.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 23, no. 4: V. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (1912) 71 ff., 94 ff. and F.W. von Bissing, *Studi Etruschi* 13 (1939) 163–174. Most recently Ducat, p. 74, who thinks this may explain the quantity of terracotta examples made on Rhodes.

12. *Swed. Cyp. Exped.* IV.2, 291, 368, n. 1, but points out the close relationship of Cypriote and Syrian art and suggests that nothing can be decided until alabastra are uncovered on Cyprus. More recently strongly supported by Ducat, pp. 72–74, who considers that the nine terracotta alabastra he lists (including B 203 and B 460) resemble Cypriote sculptures so closely that one can consider them as copies. He acknowledges the lack of alabaster vases from Cyprus, however, and suggests that only the terracotta examples were made on Rhodes, inspired by alabaster imports "from the Near East" which introduced the Cypriote style at the same time as the type.

seem difficult to establish from the material at hand.

The debt to an Egyptian prototype is clear: the long tight sleeves, veil pulled tight over the forehead to fall behind the ears, one clenched hand held before the breast, the other hanging at the side. Pryce points out that the right arm bent up before the breast, as in the Malibu piece, is strictly speaking the pose of Egyptian male statues—but it is commonly found in Greek-made female images as well, perhaps because male statues were the ultimate source and much more commonly seen in Greek cities.¹³ Both flower and dove are ancient attributes of Mediterranean goddesses of love and fertility, whether Hathor, Aphrodite, or Astarte. The image of the goddess on a cosmetic jar is doubly appropriate and known in Egyptian art from Old Kingdom times.

Major alternative suggestions put forward for influence and/or manufacture are Cyprus and Rhodes, both well known for full-scale statues of the later sixth century. Riis particularly favors Cyprus, although no alabastrons have been found on that island. This is most obviously because the material is not native, but it does not completely explain the lack of imported examples. Gjerstad publishes a comparable limestone veiled head of a woman with earrings and a bead necklace from Arsos, now in the Nicosia Museum, which he describes as “Eastern Neo-Cypriote,” corresponding to the third quarter of the sixth century.¹⁴ The smooth, shallow modeling, wide cheeks, thick nose, and full but small lips are characteristic of the art of the Eastern part of the island. The island was at this time under Egyptian rule, and the presence of Cypriote sculptors in Naukratis is attested by an inscription found in the excavations;¹⁵ but it is difficult to prove a close relationship between Cypriote and specific Naukratite sculptures. Gjerstad goes on to describe the way the veil is rendered, expanding over the shoulders, as

non-Cypriote, however, and cites several alabastra—including B 464—as possible models.¹⁶ In other words, he concludes that the archaeological evidence may point to reverse influence, from Naukratis to Cyprus.

A parallel white alabaster alabastron (B 329) from Rhodes in the British Museum, excavated in a tomb at Kameiros on the west coast of the island in 1861, has a long, elegant body.¹⁷ The “polos” effect of the alabastron lip, the eyes, and the line of the veil over the shoulders and upper arms is very similar, but the Getty piece carries nothing in the right hand and is far more stubby in proportions. The alabastron is also unique in its Rhodian context, despite the terracotta imitations (Fig. 4), and is described by its excavators and Pryce as an import. Poulsen’s arguments for the stylistic similarities with large-scale sculpture on Rhodes¹⁹—especially pose and treatment of hair, eyes, mouth, and ears—are due as much to the nature of the friable limestone of the island, which like that of Cyprus encouraged artisans to cut rather than carve the material, enhancing the shallow modeling.

The evidence seems thus to indicate alabastron manufacture in Naukratis in response to Egyptian influences of material choice, pose, dress, and use as a cosmetics container. The closely related examples cited here, plus Riis nos. A5 and A8 and the Getty piece,¹⁸ suggest a workshop whose products were exported to different corners of the Mediterranean. The terracotta copies from Rhodes and Etruria (?) and the close relationship to major pieces of island sculpture emphasize the importance of these alabastra and other small-scale luxury objects from Egypt in introducing new and exciting art forms to the Archaic Greek world.

Malibu

13. Pryce, I.2, p. 95.

14. *Swed. Cyp. Exped.* IV.2, pl. 8.2.

15. *Ibid.*, 318; BSA 5 (1900) 32.

16. *Ibid.*, 368, n. 1.

17. Pryce, I.2, 158, pl. 36; Riis, no. A4; Maximova no. 135, pl. 36.

18. Pryce associated A7 and 8 with Naukratis: cf. I.1, 182 and I.2, pl. 158 and another offered for sale at Sotheby’s July 13, 1976, lot 89 (ill.).

19. Poulsen, cf. 71 ff. esp; for example also Pryce B 358, I.1, pl. 166, pl. 37.

Some Apulian Knob-handled Paterae

Marit Jentoft-Nilsen

A recent addition to the collection of Apulian pottery in the J. Paul Getty Museum¹ is a large red-figured patera with knobbed handles.² In her catalogue of Apulian paterae,³ G. Schneider-Herrmann points out that the more than 200 extant examples of such knob-handled plates represent a shape produced in the last three-quarters of the fourth century B.C.⁴ According to her proposal, Apulian paterae, like so many pieces of South Italian ware, may be yet another indication of the popularity of an Eros cult in Magna Graecia,⁵ for the scenes, figures, and other decorative devices on the Getty plate reiterate those on previously published paterae. Moreover, the striking similarity of the Getty patera to other Apulian work indicates that the plate can indeed be associated with a known workshop.

During the conservation and reconstruction of the Getty piece, it was possible to observe how poorly it had been fired. Only a thin outside layer of the clay had been properly fired, while the central unfired core of orange clay acquired a violet corona-like effect. Whether as a result of the improper firing or of poor potter's work, the patera also warped (Fig. 2) so that the height varies around the outside edge.

As with most Apulian ware imitating Attic ware, a red wash was applied to the body while practically none was added to the underside of the foot which, not intended to be seen, would

not require it. A typically South Italian incrustation generally covering the plate was removed, revealing some drops of paint and fingerprints inadvertently left by the painter.

Each of the two black handles has on its mid-point a mushroom-shaped knob with rosette in added white and two similar ones on either side where it is attached to the rim. Except for the handle zone, the rim itself is reserved while the outer edge is black. The profile of the patera's foot is marked by three steps.

In the tondo are four figures (Fig. 3). The central one, seated right on a stool, is a woman with a phiale in her left hand. Behind her stands another woman holding a wreath and fan. On the right stands a wreathed youth, nude except for a cloak over his left arm, leaning on a white staff and holding a spray of rosettes and a mirror. Overhead hovers an androgynous Eros with female hairstyle, jewelry, white shoes, and a wreath in his right hand. The baseline is a meander; in the exergue are a cista and two phialai. Surrounding the tondo is a wave pattern enclosed by two reserved circles and a wreath of vine leaves with tendrils. The leaves are painted half white and half yellow, the added white tinted yellow by a few drops of glaze.

On the outside are two scenes: a. (Fig. 4). Eros is seated left on a rock holding a phiale; on the left, facing him, a woman stands holding a taenia and mirror; on the right, behind him,

1. In 1974 there were 11 Apulian vases. These were listed by J. Frel in the forthcoming *Festschrift Trendall*, to which the following, all but one presented by Gordon McLendon, may be added:

1. Oenochoe, shape 1. 78.AE.274. Woman with pail and rectangular cista.
2. Oenochoe, shape 1. 78. AE. 276. Eros with patera putting incense in a thymiaterion. By the same painter and potter as the preceding.
3. Oenochoe, shape 2. 78. AE. 275. Half-naked Nike seated on top of a Doric column, holding in her right hand a fan and a mirror. Also by the same painter and possibly the same potter as the preceding.
4. Epichysis. 78.AE.277. Reclining Eros with patera. By the same painter as the preceding.
5. Epichysis. 78.AE.350; presented by David Collins. Eros. On bottom is an outline drawing of an oenochoe, shape 1.

6. Dish. 78.AE.279. Two female heads.

7. Lekanis. 78.AE.278.

The last two were mentioned in the previous list, but without inventory numbers. The Schneider-Herrmann catalogue includes our first patera, 71.AE.236, as # 112. Schneider-Herrmann did not reproduce it nor did she know about a *dipinti* under the foot (Fig. 1). She notes that the piece is connected with the Painter of Vatican V 62 P.

2. L.77.AE.29. Height: 14.2 cm.; diameter: 47 cm.

3. G. Schneider-Herrmann, *Apulian Red-Figured Paterae with Flat or Knobbed Handles* (1977). Not included in the catalogue is a piece in Sweden: "Classical Antiquities in the Zorn Collection," *Opuscula Archaeologica*, Vol. V (1948), cat. # 199, pl. XXXVI.

4. Schneider-Herrmann, p. 12.

5. Schneider-Herrmann, p. 29 ff.



Figure 1. J. Paul Getty 71.AE.236



Figure 2. J. Paul Getty L.77.AE.29



Figure 3. J. Paul Getty L.77.AE.29



Figure 4. J. Paul Getty L.77.AE.29



Figure 5. J. Paul Getty L.77.AE.29

stands another woman holding a cista and tambourine; b. (Fig. 5). the central figure is a youth seated left on a ground line of white dots, nude but for a cloak on his left arm, holding a phiale and reed; seated left on a rock before him and looking over her shoulder at him is a woman holding a cista and mirror, while behind the youth stands a satyr holding a situla and phiale with a branch in it.

Specific characteristics in the painting are very close to those on work attributed to the Darius Painter. In this case, the facial profiles on the figures on the Getty plate are quite distinctive and virtually identical to those on Macinagrossa 49, a plate in Bari associated with the Darius Painter; the family resemblance, so to speak, is obvious. From the hairline a line descends straight to the base of the nose. From there, on some figures, the profile of the lips is indicated, while on others there is no curve at all for the lips; in either instance a single straight line shows the mouth. Below the mouth, the profile takes a deep inward turn before swinging out again to define a quite prominent chin. For the eye, two lines touch the iris but do not quite converge at the outer corner; the brow above is a single line.

Even the poses of the seated figures imitate those of their counterparts, and the Eros portrayed on the tondo of the plate from Bari seems the same as on the Getty plate, now, however, aloft. Although the feathers of the airborne Eros are somewhat ruffled by the wind, still the wings retain the characteristics of those on the standing Eros. They are flowing and graceful, with features in shades of cream and red; two "bars" of darker or reserved space are decorated with dots of creamy yellow; and the wings' outer edges are rendered in the same yellow from Eros' back to almost the tips where the border terminates in a slight flip or knob-like finial.

6. A.D. Trendall confirms the association with Macinagrossa 49 (Schneider-Herrmann, pl. VII, 3), observing that the plate is even closer to Foggia 130896 (from Salapia T. 131). In their forthcoming corpus of

Also supporting attribution to the Darius Painter's workshop is the painting of the women's dresses. The folds in their "wet" drapery are indicated by pairs of lines rather than by single strokes, most notably at the knees. The drapery at the neck and shoulders also appears characteristic of this workshop, although on the Getty piece the dresses usually have, in addition, a line descending between the breasts so that the garments seem to close much like shirt-fronts. At the shoulders, dots of yellow paint indicate the fibulae for fastening front and back.

Additional similarities can be noted in the meander and saltire square decoration. The pattern and positions here also echo those on the Bari plate; breaks occur in the center of almost every square of the meander. Around the outer edge of the plate runs an egg pattern. The line of the egg's left side rarely touches the top edge of the border but takes its beginning at the egg adjacent to it.

There are, not unexpectedly, differences too. Some hairstyles vary; where, for example, on the Getty plate the kekryphalos is long and tapered, on the plate from Bari it appears round and bushy. Brush lines indicating physical features such as knees and ankles also are not identical on both plates. The rocks upon which the figures sit on the Getty plate are solid whereas on the Bari plate they are hollow. Yet the differences are not so marked as the similarities, and can be attributed to the probability that some different hands in the same workshop gave their individual touches to the different paterae. Although no one individual can be identified as the Getty patera's painter, the piece's affinity to Macinagrossa 49 in the collection at Bari is beyond doubt and the plate should be safely counted as a product of the Darius Workshop.⁶

Two knob-handled paterae appeared recently on the Los

Apulian vase painters, he and A. Cambitoglou include the Getty patera in a large group of vases which stand close to the Darius Painter.



Figure 6. Art Market, Los Angeles

Angeles art market. One, from the Kantharos Group,⁷ is a two-knobbed plate with ridged black handles. (Fig. 6).⁸ A woman's head faces left in the tondo which is surrounded by a reserved circle, a wave pattern, another reserved circle, and then a wreath of long white laurel leaves and berries. A phiale is in the field before the woman who wears a radiate stephane in yellow, a patterned sakkos with two flaps and an undulating ribbon, a black curl in front of her ear, an earring, and a two-strand necklace. Palmette and scroll designs are in the field on both sides of her neck. The outside edge has a wave pattern marred by two blots, one where the handle is attached to the rim. Only a black glaze is on the outside.

The second⁹ is a three knobbed plate with black handles on a reserved rim (Fig. 7).¹⁰ Here too a female head decorates the tondo, but her portrayal is more delicate and her features more sensitive, carefully done with a fine brush. She wears a stephane, patterned kekryphalos, and an undulating ribbon around a bunch of hair. A double curl hangs in front of her ear, from which is suspended an earring of three pendants. Her eye has a touch of added yellow, now almost faded, to indicate the white of the eye; the iris touches only the upper lid which has a curve at the inner corner to suggest lashes. The expressionless lips are separated by a fine line. There are two lines on her neck and one where her neck meets the shoulder. She wears a double strand necklace and ruffly collar. Around the tondo runs a single reserved line and around this a wreath of white laurel leaves and berries. Short vertical strokes in black decorate the outer

edge.

The outside has two Eros scenes (Fig. 8): a. Eros seated left on a rock, holding a wreath in his right hand; the tops and outer edges of his wings are in yellow, white and pink, his shoes in yellow; anatomical details apparently were done with a fine brush in an accomplished hand. b. Eros striding left before an altar holding a torch and fillet in his extended right hand, a fillet in his left hand. This plate has been attributed by Trendall to the Three Rosette Painter.

Yet another plate, on the Munich art market, has as its primary decoration the head of a woman facing left (Fig. 9). On its rim, reserved except for a narrow black band, are two knobbed black handles on each side of which are black knobs lacking any added white decoration. The face of the woman virtually fills the tondo; there is barely space enough for a phiale placed immediately before, in fact, almost touching her nose and forehead, and for two scroll and palmette motifs. She wears a radiate and patterned kekryphalos revealing a bunch of hair tied with a white ribbon, tendrils of hair on her forehead, and two corkscrew curls by her ear. In addition, she wears an earring and a single strand necklace. The tondo is encircled first by a reserved band punctuated with dots of black glaze and then with a broader black band on which there is a laurel wreath without any indication of berries. The technique, particularly the treatment of the eye, follows closely the characteristic noted by Cambitoglou for the Copenhagen Painter¹¹ and invites an attribution to that painter's hand.

7. The Summa Galleries; attributed by A.D. Trendall.

8. Height: 12.5 cm.; diameter: 37 cm.

9. The Summa Galleries, *Catalogue 4: Ancient Vases* (1978), # 25.

10. Height: 12.5 cm.; diameter: 34.9 cm.

11. A. Cambitoglou, "Groups of Apulian Red-Figured Vases Decorated with the Heads of Women or Nike," *JHS* 74 (1954), 111 ff.

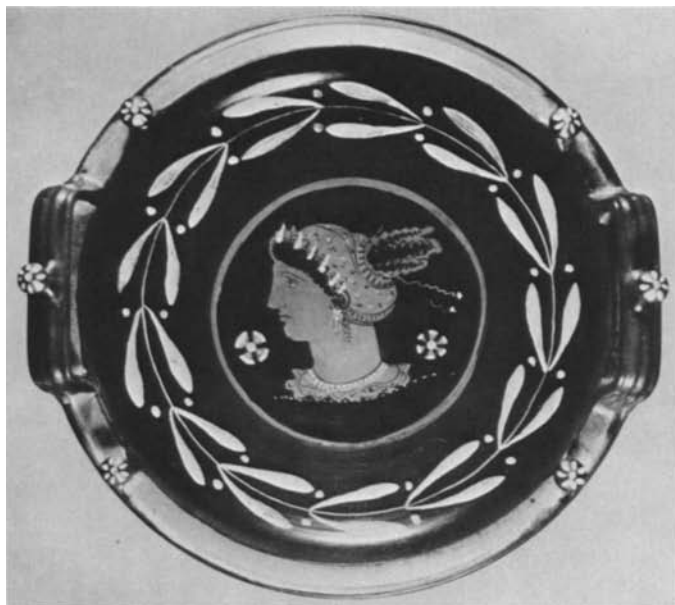


Figure 7. Art market, Los Angeles



Figure 8. Outside, Fig. 7.

Also on the Munich art market is a patera considerably more elaborate and skillful in its execution. It is a three-knobbed piece, although those on both black handles and one on the reserved rim have been broken off. The three surviving knobs preserve their rosette ornamentation.

The inside decoration is dominated by a winged figure wearing cap, chiton, bracelets and what appears to be almost a bandolier across the chest and driving toward the left a quadriga of white horses (Fig. 10). Above, flying left, an Eros holds a cista and a myrtle branch. A loose cloak is draped over his left forearm. Below the chariot, among some flowers, a white dog chases a red hare whose ears, chest, underbelly, and tail are in white. Around the scene is a band with a wave pattern and a wider black band on which there is a vine leaf wreath with tendrils in added white.

Four figures and an elaborate palmette design cover the outside. In one scene, a winged Eros bedecked with white shoes, four bracelets on the ankle and one on the thigh of his right leg, three ankle bracelets on his left leg, a double necklace across his chest, a pair of bracelets on his right forearm, and a flowing cloak on his left, offers a seated woman a phiale and wreath (Fig. 11). Her dress is fastened about the waist with a belt marked by three dots of yellow, and likewise at each shoulder with a dot of yellow. Her feet are shod in white, and her hair fastened in a kekryphalos and white ribbon. Three bracelets encircle each arm. In her right hand she holds a sizeable round cista and in her left a fan. The scene opposite, in which their



Figure 9. Art market, Munich



Figure 10. Patera Painter. Art market, Munich



Figure 11. Detail, outside of Fig. 10.

attitudes are reversed, would seem to involve almost the identical characters except that Eros here has one more bracelet in every instance and the double band across the chest has become a combination of one across the chest and a necklace. The woman, also clad the same as before except for the addition of a cloak which goes behind her and across both arms, offers him a wreath and cista while he holds a cista and situla.

The attribution of this plate to the Patera Painter can be made with some assurance. Certain mannerisms are readily matched to those on his other paterae. Immediately noticeable is the wave pattern with its rather flattened troughs between each peak and occasional dips below the circular line of the pattern. The similarity is especially obvious in comparing the design with that on a plate in Pescara.¹² On that plate, one in Marseille,¹³ and on the Munich plate the shoes are rendered similarly; the front part of the foot is painted with white while the heel is left reserved or with just a touch of white added. The Eros which is above in the outside scenes on the Pescara and Munich plates has a special quirk—the shoe of the upper foot is “curled” as if the figure were standing on tiptoe.

On the outside the comparisons are even stronger. Except for the number of bracelets on both arms and the position of the left foot and wing, the seated Eros on the Munich patera is a brother of the Eros on the Marseille piece. The facial features, hair, contours of the body, and anatomical details are virtual copies of one another. The seated women also show instances

of very close relationship. Each standing Eros, although the pose differs, again possesses the characteristics of the others. Indeed, discounting the minor variants of pieces or positions of jewelry, all four appear to be the same Eros who has simply run through a series of different poses. The women also reflect this sameness and look as if they shared the same dressmaker and hair stylist. Similar bodily contours beneath the drapery, lines of the dresses, and a tendency to mark the hem or edge of drapery with an extra line occur on all three plates. Again, so alike are the characters clothed in these dresses that they too might be the same figure merely striking different poses.

While the palmette and scroll devices are imitations of one another, the meander pattern beneath each of the scenes shows the same hand at work. This pattern is interrupted by an occasional saltire in square and two concentric squares housing a dot, the whole being enclosed by a comparatively broad reserved band above and below. Other devices, such as groups of three dots, mirrors, wreaths, vegetation, and ivy leaves—all favorites of this painter—are used for random decoration.

All the factors above then add up to what amounts to a signature by the Patera Painter, and the Munich piece must be yet another produced by him.

Late in 1978, a patera attributed to the Ganymede Painter appeared on the London art market, but unlike the Los Angeles and Munich paterae it was a piece previously known and published.¹⁴

Malibu

13. Schneider-Herrmann, cat. # 84 (Marseille 2.3932), pl. X, 1a–1b.

14. Sotheby's offered at auction (*Catalogue of Antiquities*, December 4, 1978, lot 158, pl. XXIV) a three-knobbed plate previously in Ancona

and included by Schneider-Herrmann in her catalogue (cat. # 66, pl. VIII, 1, 1a–1b).

A Terracotta Thymiaterion in Malibu

Anna Manzoni

In 1978 a terracotta thymiaterion, or incense burner, was presented to the J. Paul Getty Museum.¹ The mould-made vessel, 12.5 cm. high, is composed of a central support on a hollow rounded base surmounted by the bowl of the thymiaterion. An oil lamp rests on a branching support on either side of the central bowl. An eagle, standing upright in moulded relief, both unifies and dominates the entire piece. Each outspread wing appears to support one of the flanking lamps, and the head, facing right, supports the thymiaterion bowl. The crudely fashioned lamps, of indeterminate provincial character, are clearly subordinate in form and function to the central thymiaterion. Both are flat and oval with some attempt at a vestigial handle. There is no proper discus, but the general area surrounding the filling hole is indented. Traces of burning appear on both nozzles. The right lamp has been broken and repaired in several places. The hard orange clay, as well as the general character and workmanship, suggest a Syrian origin. When it arrived at the museum, the vessel was covered by what appeared to be a brown slip, half of which has now been removed to reveal the lamp's original character while still preserving the effect of the patina.²

The eagle was modelled with much greater care than the vessel as a whole, emphasizing its importance. The eagle is perched for flight in the manner that Franz Cumont has shown characterized the representation of that bird as it was transmitted to Italy with the ceremony of apotheosis.³ It should be noted that the apotheosis eagle of Syria lifted his mortal burden not with his claws, as Zeus bore Ganymede, but on his back. The eagle is the most

common decorative motif on Syrian funeral monuments, associated not only with the Roman Jupiter but with the older Near Eastern belief that the soul disengaged itself from the body after death and flew up to the sun in the form of a bird. During the Roman period the bird became definitely an eagle, in Syria worshipped as the messenger of the sun. But what of the other aspect, that of the so-called infernal regions? One must refer to the dualistic character of Jupiter. Originally worshipped in Syria as Jupiter Dolichinus, the Capitoline Jupiter, he became also Jupiter Heliopolitanus, a divinity analogous in many ways with Serapis.⁴ Apotheosis implies the necessity of death first, thus joining the underworld and aboveworld aspects of religion. The Getty thymiaterion represents the apotheosis eagle as it was transplanted from Syria to Italy, implying both aspects of Jupiter in one representation.

Although far from numerous, other vessels similar to the Getty thymiaterion are known. One interesting example from Sabratha⁵ resembles the Getty piece in composition, except that the head of Serapis occupies the space here devoted to the eagle. Such a substitution of symbols implies their interchangeability as representations of the same god. Similar vessels from the same location include decorations consisting of the head of Medusa,⁶ another of the underworld creatures, and Demeter⁷ whose associations with the same cult require no explanation.

Donald Bailey has studied a group of these objects of Knidian manufacture.⁸ One of the most prevalent decorative elements of this workshop is the winged Eros, sometimes holding an inverted torch.⁹ The immediate association with our cult is not apparent,

1. Acc. no. 77.AE.107, presented by Bruce McNall. I thank Dr. Jiri Frel for authorizing the publication of this piece.

2. The vessel was cleaned in the Getty Museum laboratory under the direction of the chief conservator, Mr. Zdravko Barov, who has informed me that the brown coating covering it uniformly was not in fact a slip or wash applied in antiquity but the natural patination of age. The crude mending of the right lamp was also rectified.

3. See the studies of F. Cumont for a detailed account of Oriental religions and their impact on Rome. The above condensation is based on his *Etudes syriennes*, 57 ss. cf. also Mrs. Arthur Strong's *Apotheosis and After Life* (London, 1915).

4. J. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire Romain* (Rome, 1967) 35 ff.

5. E. Joly, *Lucerne del Museo di Sabratha* (Rome, 1971) Tav. 34.850. I am indebted to D. Bailey for providing me with this publication.

6. *Ibid.*, Tav. 33:849.

7. *Ibid.*, Tav. 34:856.

8. D.M. Bailey, "A Roman Lampstand of Cnidian Manufacture," *Antike Kunst* (1975) 67-71, Pls. 26 and 27.

9. *Ibid.*, Pl. 26: 1, 7.



Figure 1. Thymiaterion. Malibu.

but Cumont cites a funeral stele in Copenhagen depicting a scene of apotheosis in which a toga-clad young man of non-Imperial rank (although usually considered a privilege of the Imperial family, apotheosis did in fact extend to the common people) rises to the sky on the back of an eagle to the right of which a winged child bearing a torch appears to be pointing the way.¹⁰ Thus, even the seemingly casual decorative element of the small boy may be associated with the same apotheosis eagle that is represented on the Getty piece. Another popular Knidian motif, the pine cone, supports the thymiaterion bowl in the same manner as the Getty eagle and the Sabrathan Serapis head.¹¹ An example now in Berlin proves that the pine cone motif existed in other workshops as well.¹² The association of the pine cone with funerary monuments is well-known. The pine cone also played a special role in lighting fires and incense-

burning; Cumont cites a representation of pine cones being burned in a thymiaterion as part of a ritual purification.¹³

The existence of so many similar vessels composed of elements symbolizing death and apotheosis cannot be ignored. More than personal taste or artistic whim motivated such decoration. The elaborate nature of the vessels themselves further implies a special purpose. Proving objects are cult vessels is always difficult, but it seems possible that the Getty thymiaterion and its sister vessels were specifically designed to fulfill the rites of purification to enable the souls of the dead to be carried upward on the back of an eagle such as the one decorating the central support.

The Getty piece dates most likely to the second century A.D., even though the nondescript nature of the lamps preclude a firm date.¹⁴ The form of the eagle is in keeping with such a date and the general climate of Roman religion at the time.

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10. F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New York, 1959) 159.

11. D.M. Bailey, *Antike Kunst*, pl. 26:2, 5.

12. K. Wigand, "Thymiateria," *Bonner Jahrbücher* (1912) 91, Abb. 14. I wish to thank D. Bailey for this reference.

13. F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (1929) 202, fig. 13.

14. I am grateful to D. Bailey who looked at a photograph of the thymiaterion and originally suggested this date to me.

